

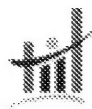
Historical Profile of the Northeastern New Brunswick Area's Mixed European-Indian Ancestry Community

by Amanda Marlin, Tracey Wade, Lori Ann Roness, Raymond Blake and John Higham
for Chignecto Research

DISCUSSION DRAFT

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Research and
Statistics Division

&

Aboriginal Law and
Strategic Policy Group

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Abstract

With the Supreme Court of Canada decision in *R. v. Powley* [2003] 2 S.C.R., Métis were recognized as having an Aboriginal right to hunt for food as recognized under section 35 of the *Constitution Act*, 1982. In consequence, Justice Canada developed a research program designed to explore the history related to possible Métis ethnogenesis and the imposition of 'effective European control' in selected sites across Canada. Through the use of archival and published documents, this paper explores one of the selected geographic areas; the Northeastern Alberta region of Alberta. This study examined the social history, demographic, and genealogical background of the Northeastern Alberta European-Indian ancestry population, the distinctive cultural practices of the European-Indian ancestry group, and some possible indicators of 'effective European control'. A detailed, chronological, historical narrative dating from the 17th century to the 20th century is presented, along with a discussion surrounding certain concepts utilized in *Powley*.

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Author's Biography

Chignecto Research, an independent research firm that specializes in historical land-based research in Atlantic Canada, completed *A Historical Profile of the Northeastern New Brunswick Area's Mixed European-Indian or Mixed European-Inuit Ancestry Community*. The team of researchers/writers were:

Amanda J. Marlin – Principal Researcher and Project Manager. Amanda has a Bachelor of Arts in Honours Geography and a Masters of Environmental Studies. Amanda's most recent work includes conducting primary research on Temporary Supportive Accommodations for Aboriginal People and their Families in Northwestern Ontario, historic research into Aboriginal use and occupancy of land parcels in the Maritimes, and reviewing best practices and successes in alternative education programs for Aboriginal at risk youth.

Dr. Raymond Blake – Research Advisor and Partner. Raymond is currently the Director of the Saskatchewan Institute of Public Policy at the University of Regina, and is the former Director of the Centre for Canadian Studies at Mount Allison University in New Brunswick. Raymond has a Ph.D. in History. His most recent publications include: *Trajectories of Rural Life: New Perspectives on Rural Canada*, co-edited with Andrew Nurse. Regina, Canadian Plains Research Centre, 2003; 'The Canadian 1988 Election: The Nationalist Posture of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the Progressive Conservatives,' *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, Vol. 30 (2003); and 'Let's Not Lament, Just Yet: Did George Grant Have it Wrong?' Paper presented at the Association for the Study of Canada in the United States Conference, Portland, 23-25 November 2003.

Tracey Wade – Data Management and Researcher. Tracey is a professional planner specializing in community development, planning, evaluation and research. Tracey has a Masters of Science in Rural Planning and Development. Some of her key projects include evaluating the Aboriginal EnviroCareers product, developing the First Nations Fiscal Planning Calendar (a multimedia tool designed to assist First Nation decision-makers in short and long-term fiscal planning), developing strategic plans with various First Nation communities and organizations, and undertaking historic research into Aboriginal use and occupancy of more than 150 parcels of land in Atlantic Canada.

Lori Ann Roness – Communications Liaison and Researcher. Lori Ann has extensive experience in managing projects on a range of issues related to First Nation community development and governance. In addition to consulting, she is a sessional instructor at Mount Allison University. Lori Ann has a Master's in Environmental Studies, a Certificate in Teaching English as a Second Language, and recently completed a Certificate in Fundraising Management. Her most recent work includes conducting primary research and reporting on the use of designated land for affordable housing and investigating and making recommendations on improving effective representation of northern Ontario First Nations. One of her several publications includes, "Legalizing

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Oral History: Proving Aboriginal Claims in Canadian Courts." *Journal of the West*, vol. 34, no. 3: 66-74, 2000, co-authored with Dr. Kent McNeil.

John Higham – Project Advisor and Partner. Along with his partners, John established Chignecto Research and its sister company Chignecto Consulting approximately 10 years ago to address the knowledge gap between First Nation needs and government requirements. John was formerly a Manager at Indian and Northern Affairs Canada and Director of Mount Allison University's Rural and Small Town Programme. He now works closely with several First Nations in the Atlantic region on governance, housing, health, and financial management, and advises federal and First Nations participants in self-government initiatives. John has a Master's Degree in Natural Resources Management.

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Research Highlights

Our major research findings are:

- The history of Indian people in the study region begins more than 10,600 years ago in the Maritime region of what is now Canada.
- There is archaeological evidence supporting these dates from Indian settlements near Miramichi and Bathurst.
- The Maritime Indian people came in contact with European explorers and/or settlers at the beginning of the contact period (the 16th and 17th centuries).
- Chief Membelou (or Membertou) was the first Indian noted in the European record. He was the head Chief over many of the Indians in the Maritime provinces and the Gaspé, and was the first person converted to Catholicism by the French missionaries in 1610.
- The first French settler in the present-day Miramichi area is believed to have been Nicholas Denys who arrived in 1650 from Cape Breton together with his Indian wife and their children. Denys was born in Tours, France.
- Richard, their son, also married an Indian woman, Anne Parabego (or Palarabego).
- No evidence was found in the historical records of a culturally distinct group or community of mixed-ancestry people living together in the Miramichi area in the 1600s. However, there were some mixed-ancestry families that lived in the Miramichi in the early historical period.
- Jean Jacques Enaud from Basque (France) is believed to have arrived in the Nepisiguit (Bathurst) area in 1638. He, too, married an Indian woman.
- No European women arrived in Acadia before 1627.
- Some French government officials encouraged intermarriage for two main reasons. They wished to create one race of people, to become one people with their Indian friends. As well, the number of immigrants from France was limited so by having children with the local Indians, the French were able to create instant French subjects.
- Many mixed-ancestry children were raised as Indians, in their mother's culture.
- Harald E.L. Prins suggests that in the 17th century, the Mi'kmaq were not interested in 'racial' issues. Organized in bands throughout the region, they attached great importance on social ties of kinship and friendship, and to building a widespread social network and so they frequently relied on marriage exchanges with neighbouring groups.
- During the Expulsion, Acadians took refuge in the forests of northeastern New Brunswick with their Indian friends.
- In 1784, four exclusive groups: Norman soldiers, "Normans et métisses," Canadians and Acadians, applied for a grant of land together in Caraquet. The group of mixed Norman-Indians is the only documented group of mixed-ancestry people who lived together and applied for land together in the study area that is cited in the literature.
- The aforementioned grant is also the only documented grant of land to a group of Acadians by the Nova Scotia government.
- The Norman-Indian group had relatives in and ties to Shippegan and the Gaspé.
- Bishop Plessis commented on the "peculiarities" of the residents of Caraquet in his journals of his pastoral visit in 1811.

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- Both Saint-Quentin and Allardville were established as a direct result of the “Back to the Land Movement” in the early 1900s. While mixed marriages took place through history in the vicinity of these two study sites, no indication was found in the available written historical records of mixed-ancestry communities in these areas.
- There is a need for future research into the Gaspé region and into oral histories to help fill in remaining gaps in the history of mixed-ancestry people in New Brunswick.

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Executive Summary

Chapter One – Introduction

Chignecto Research was commissioned to examine the possible “ethnogenesis” of a mixed European-Indian community in eastern and northern New Brunswick with a specific focus on the areas in and around Miramichi, Bathurst, Allardville and Saint-Quentin.

This study is a historical profile of mixed-ancestry (European-Indian) people. It is concerned with written evidence in the historical record, rather than oral histories. As a result, some information has not been accessed. Furthermore, it focuses on the emergence of people of mixed-ancestry and their communities in the period between first contact with Europeans and prior to “effective European control” in the study region.

Chignecto Research is not in a position to make legal determinations. We recognize that there are people of mixed-ancestry living in the study region. However, Chignecto Research cannot draw any conclusions about whether there are or were “Métis” communities in the study region. We are, as per the Request for Proposals, only presenting known and accessible documentation with respect to possible markers of European control and the history of mixed-ancestry people in the study region.

The goals for the current study were to:

1. Describe possible markers of “effective European control” in the study region.
2. Research and report on the way mixed-ancestry people were identified and self-identified prior to “effective European control”.
3. Research and report on the way people of mixed-ancestry fit into the society at the time, including whether or not they had a distinct culture and community, their economic activities, where they lived, etc.

Chapter Two – Methodology

Chignecto Research used a variety of methods in order to effectively tackle the research questions. Secondary sources, such as documented histories of the study region and the specific communities of Bathurst, Miramichi, Allardville and Saint-Quentin, were consulted. There were gaps in these secondary sources concerning (1) the possible markers of “effective European control”, and (2) the possibility of the historical existence of mixed-ancestry groups. Attempts were made to address these gaps by focusing the search on primary and archival materials. The main focus of the research and contract was to concentrate on primary and archival sources, when possible.

Key documents collected during the research process have been included in accompanying appendices in order to provide further context and information. Each key document has a code (A through H) to identify it in the footnotes, which allows the reader to locate the document in the appendices labeled A to H.

Terminology was an important element in the research. It is important to note the following about the

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terms “Métis”, ethnogenesis, and community. There is no universally accepted definition of the word “Métis”. However, originally it was a French word meaning “a mixture of various races.” Historically, the word became used in reference to the mixed-ancestry group associated with the Red River region of Manitoba. Increasingly, however, the term is now often used to refer to mixed-ancestry people across the country. Ethnogenesis is defined as the emergence of a society with a new and distinct culture. The term “community” generally refers to two contexts. One is site specific and connected to a physical, tangible location. The other consists of a group of people who have a common history and/or interest such as cultural or religious group but who may be geographically dispersed. However, this study was limited to site specific mixed-ancestry communities. This may be a limiting factor in the research findings.

The historical period focused on in our research is that between first contact and “effective European control”. The concept of “effective European control” is a difficult one because levels of control grew over time and at different rates in the Maritime region. The region is large and was settled over a long period from the mid 1600s with Jean Jacques Enaud in the Baie de Chaleur and Nicolas Denys in the Miramichi to the 1760s when the English arrived in greater numbers and wrote treaties with the Indians and established settlements and government. In Saint-Quentin and Allardville, settlement came much later in the early 20th century with The Back to the Land Movement. Thus, to be as broad and as inclusive as possible, the focus of this study was in evidence of mixed-ancestry communities in northeastern New Brunswick which dates back as far as possible before and during the period when Europeans (or their descendants) began establishing increasing levels of control. No conclusions are made about when “effective European control” took place, but possible indicia of control are highlighted throughout the narrative section of this report.

Chapter Three - The Pre Contact Era

The history of Indian and European mixed-ancestry people in New Brunswick began many thousands of years ago in Maritime region of what is now Canada. The Mi’kmaq and the Maliseet-Passamaquoddy were the cultural groupings that inhabited what would become this region, prior to the arrival of Europeans. Archaeological evidence suggests that Indian groups have been living in the Maritime Region of Canada for more than 10,600 years. Archaeological sites have been explored near Miramichi and Bathurst in New Brunswick. For the Mi’kmaq people who lived in these areas, the ocean, rivers, inlets, and forests molded their way of life. During the warmer months, they congregated in large groups along the coast at their summer campsites to fish. During the colder months, they broke into smaller bands and moved inland to track and hunt game animals.

Chapter Four - The Contact Period: 16th and 17th Centuries

All of the Maritime Indian people came in contact with European explorers and/or settlers at the beginning of the contact period (the 16th and 17th centuries). After the arrival of European settlers, the way of life for Indian people changed. As trade continued in the new world, permanent settlements were developed. The first settlers in the Maritime region were from France who arrived in 1604 under the auspices of Monsieur De Monts. At the time, the study area was part of what was known as

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Acadia.¹ The first successful settlement was established across the Bay of Fundy the following summer, in 1605, at Port Royal, in present day Nova Scotia. France and England then began to fight over possession of this area of the world for over a century.

The first French settler in the present day Miramichi area is believed to be Nicholas Denys who arrived in 1650 from Cape Breton together with his Indian wife and their children. His son Richard also married an Indian woman. Settlement in the Bathurst area preceded that of the Miramichi. Jean Jacques Enaud, from Basque (France), is believed to have arrived in the Bathurst area in 1638.² He is considered by some to be the first European man to live on the shores of northern New Brunswick and he too married an Indian woman.³

During the first few decades of French settlement in Acadia, while Enaud and the Denys family were establishing their settlements, forts and trading stations, French women rarely risked the hazardous Atlantic crossing. Thus, French and Acadian men, who arrived to settle the new colony, began to intermingle and intermarry with local Indian women. The French government encouraged intermarriage in order to create "one race" so they could populate the new world with the children of mixed marriages, who would become instant new French subjects.⁴ Many children were born as a result of mixed marriages and other less formal unions. Mixed marriages occurred in all classes of society in Acadia. Due to a variety of reasons, many mixed-ancestry children were raised as Indian, in their mother's culture.

Chapter Five - The 18th Century

This chapter begins by exploring settlement patterns and describing policies toward mixed marriages in the 1700s. This period involved conflicts and treaties between French and English governments and between the English and Mi'kmaq. These included The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Dummer's War, the Treaty of Aix La Chapelle, the Treaty of 1749, The "Anglo-Micmac War," Peace and Friendship Treaties, The Seven Years War and the Acadian Expulsion. The process of making peace began in 1760. This period coincided with the Acadians Expulsion (1755-1762); at this time some Acadians took refuge in the forests of northeastern New Brunswick to escape the British. British settlement began in the 1760s with the passing of the Belcher Proclamation. The Treaty of Paris allowed Britain to gain Cape Breton and Isle Saint Jean. A year later, Acadians were allowed to return to Acadia. Many did and some found their way back to Caraquet and other sites on the northeastern coast where they had taken refuge earlier. In 1784 a group of Norman soldiers, "Normans et Métisses," French Canadians and Acadians applied for a grant of land in Caraquet with the Nova Scotia government. The group of mixed Norman-Indians is the only documented group of mixed-ancestry people who lived

¹ See Key Document H-3 Robert Cooney, *A Compendious History of Northern Part of the Province of New Brunswick and the District of Gaspé in Lower Canada* (Reprint of 1832 copy by DG Smith at Chatham, Miramichi, 1896), 14-15.

² E.B. Biggar, *Memories of Bathurst* (New Brunswick Historical Society, 1894), 21.

³ It was not possible to find out any more information on these Indian wives.

⁴ H-4 Olive Patricia Dickason, "From one Nation in the Northeast to New Nation in the Northwest: A Look at the Emergence of the Métis," in *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, ed. J. Peterson and J.S.H. Brown, 20 (Winnipeg: Univ. of Manitoba Press, 1985).

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together and applied for land together in the study region. The Acadians of Upper Caraquet appear to have remained separated from the Norman-Indians and Canadians, who settled in Lower Caraquet. They did not marry between groups and often the Norman-Indian group would return to the Gaspé where people with a similar mixed-ancestry genealogy lived. Due to a lack of written documentation, it is difficult to know for sure, but they appeared not to have a culture that had elements distinguishing it from their Acadian or Canadian neighbours. Nor did they occupy a special economic niche or place in colonial or Indian society. Later in the same year, 1784, due to the influx of thousands of Loyalists at the end of the American Revolutionary War, the county of Sunbury in Nova Scotia became its own province, called New Brunswick. The chapter concludes by exploring demographics and Indian land issues in the 1700s.

Chapter Six - The 19th Century

This chapter begins by looking at demographics and land granting policies in the 1800s. The chapter goes on to describe the War of 1812 and the changes that the 19th century brought to the study region and the towns of Bathurst, Miramichi and Saint-Quentin in particular, as well as Caraquet. The chapter then explores Bishop Plessis' pastoral visit to the Maritimes, especially to Caraquet in 1811. Plessis provides valuable commentary on the life and culture of the inhabitants of Caraquet a few years after they were awarded their land grant. The chapter continues with a look at Indian issues in the 1800s, including the creation of reserves, and changing Indian culture. The chapter concludes with an exploration of Indian and natural resource issues in the 19th century.

Chapter Seven - The Early 20th Century

In this final chapter of the narrative portion of this report, Allardville is introduced for the first time and Saint Quentin also comes into focus. Both of these areas were settled due to the direct impact of the "Back to the Land Movement" of the early 1900s. The chapter continues with a brief look at other communities, which Ganong wrote about in the early 1900s. However, there is no mention of mixed-ancestry people in any of these communities. The chapter goes on to include a final examination of population patterns and Census data for New Brunswick. The narrative ends with a look at the effects of "métissage" in the early 20th century.

Chapter Eight – Discussion: The Possible Ethnogenesis of a Mixed-ancestry Community in Northeastern New Brunswick

The final chapter of this report discusses the possibilities of there having been mixed-ancestry communities in New Brunswick with distinct cultural practices. It goes on to summarize the markers of "effective European control." Emerging conceptual issues, such as "community" and "Métis" are discussed. The many research challenges that were encountered are described along with the research questions that are left unanswered as a result of these challenges. A lack of primary and archival material relating to the history of mixed-ancestry people was the main challenge. In New Brunswick, the history of mixed-ancestry people is largely unwritten and unrecorded. This chapter also explores potential future research directions, such as looking further into the mixed-ancestry communities in other regions of Eastern Canada, the need to study oral histories, and further investigations into

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genealogies.

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1. Chapter One – Introduction

Chignecto Research examined the history of a European-Indian mixed-ancestry population in northeastern New Brunswick through the investigation of secondary and primary sources. Research was focused on the areas in and around Miramichi, Bathurst, Allardville and Saint-Quentin.

1.1. Report Structure

This report begins with background information on the project, and then proceeds with the methodology used, important terminology and project goals. A description of the study region, the limitations of the data and research challenges encountered follows. The main part of the report presents a chronology of historical events and a narrative of historical facts surrounding the possible ethnogenesis of one or more mixed-ancestry communities in northern and eastern New Brunswick. This section of the report begins with the pre-contact period and moves through the era of early contact between Indians and French explorers and traders to the early French colonial period and the emergence of Acadian culture in the region. The report then goes on to describe the period of English and French conflict in eastern North America and examines the period of the Acadian Deportation. It then examines the period when the English negotiated the treaties with the Amerindians, the English colonial period, and the eventual establishment of New Brunswick as a separate government from Nova Scotia. The report also examines the history of the region in the early 20th century. The report concludes with a discussion on the possible ethnogenesis of mixed-ancestry populations in northeastern New Brunswick.

1.2. Project Background

This report provides a historical record on the mixed-ancestry (European-Indian) people in the study region of northeastern New Brunswick. It has been prepared by investigating the written historical record found in libraries, research centers, and archives throughout the region. Due to the parameters of the research, oral histories were rarely used. As well, some pertinent archival material could not be reviewed because it is located in England or France. As such, one should recognize that this report does not exhaust all possible avenues of usage. This report investigates the emergence of a historical mixed-ancestry population and their communities in the period between first contact with Europeans and prior to “effective European control” in the study region as found in the accessible secondary and primary documents.

Chignecto Research is not in a position to make legal determinations and has therefore not sought to conclude whether or not there are or were “Métis” communities in the study region. As per the Request for Proposals, only known and accessible documentation on the potential historical existence of mixed-ancestry people and communities in the study region is presented.

1.3. Project Goals

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The goals for the current study are to:

1. Describe possible markers of "effective European control" in the study region.
2. Research and report on the way mixed-ancestry people were identified and self-identified prior to "effective European control".
3. Research and report on the way people of mixed-ancestry fit into the society at the time, including whether or not they formed a distinct culture and community, their economic activities, where they lived, etc.

1.4. A Discussion of Terminology and Conceptual Issues

1.4.1. People of Mixed-Ancestry

Historically, the way people of mixed-ancestry identified themselves or, were identified by others, varied greatly. The early mixed-ancestry of Canada's west most often called themselves "Michif" or "gens du libre". They also had a variety of other names including: Apeetogosan (half-son), Country Born, Half-breed, Half-caste, Mixed-blood, British Indians, French Indians, Indian French, Winterers, Hivernants, Bois brûlés, (Burnt wood men), Chicot (burnt people) and Wissakodewinimi (half-burnt stick men). "Métis Ecossais" was supposedly a term applied to people of Scottish-Indian descent living in a French environment. "Muktum" is a Mi'kmaq word for a "Métis" and is used by some present-day mixed-ancestry people in New Brunswick.⁵ We did not find any reference to any of these words in the available historical records.

The early people of mixed-ancestry were given names based on their mixed-ancestry, their occupation in the fur trade, their European or Indian ancestry, and, their skin colour, which was different from both their Indian and European relatives, and in the case of the Red River people, which reflected their desire to be a distinct people. For example, "Half breed" is thought to be an English term.

1.4.2. Ethnicity and Ethnic Labels

In the historical narrative to follow, the "ethnic" historical term found in the primary source was used wherever possible and placed in quotation marks. The term "mixed-ancestry" was used when generally discussing people who had mixed origins. The term "Indian" was generally used to describe people of Indian descent (non-Inuit) (rather than the strict meaning of the term "Indian" according to the *Indian Act*). The narrative attempts to be as detailed as possible when discussing the ethnic backgrounds of people. However, one limitation is that both primary and secondary sources did not always provide the level of detail that is now needed.

1.4.3. Ethnogenesis of Mixed-Ancestry People

⁵ All related terms to Métis were found on the website: Martin F. Dunn, "Métis Terminology", The Other Métis, www.othermetis.net/Papers/Terms.html (April 21, 2004).

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Ethnogenesis is derived from the Greek words "ethnos" (meaning nationality) and "genesis" (meaning development).⁶ "Ethnogenesis" is the term used to explain the emergence of a culturally distinctive people who are considered to represent a new and unique ethnicity. It can be used as an analytical tool for developing critical historical approaches to mixed-ancestry culture and identity.

The development of a new cultural group is a long and complicated cultural-historical process covering hundreds or even thousands of years. This process is closely related to the mixing of various cultures and languages. Studying the ethnogenesis of a cultural group should be based on a variety of data sources. Information from original written sources that date back to the time when the group was emerging is important as a window and record into the past. Archeological, ethnography, material and spiritual culture, folklore, anthropological data are all crucial to understanding the development of a new culture. Furthermore, knowledge about the ethnogenesis received from other recognized cultural groups at the time (such as historical writings, folklore, etc.) provide an external view that validates the emergence and acceptance of a new cultural group. Finally, information on the group's genealogy provides the history and backgrounds of the culture and its people.⁷ This study has attempted to research all of these areas of knowledge through the examination of written historical documents.

1.4.4. Community

In the course of this research, it became apparent that the term "community" is also one which requires consideration and discussion. The Supreme Court in *R v. Powley* stated that "a Métis community is a group of Métis with a distinctive collective identity, living together in the same geographical area and sharing a common way of life".⁸ However, the Aboriginal (including "Métis") idea of community is not necessarily always site specific. Communities are not always determined by geography. For example, there are also cultural and religious communities tied together by common interests even though they may not live together in a physically defined location at all times. However, for the purposes and constraints of the current research, the focus was on communities of people connected to the physical environment at a specific geographic location, in other words, a settlement.

1.4.5. "Effective European Control"

"Effective European control" is a concept that was defined in the *Powley* decision. However, the Courts have yet to determine when "effective European control" took place. Chignecto Research was asked to present the possible markers of such control in the study region, but not to provide legal determinations of when "effective European control" happened.

Thus, this concept presented a conceptual challenge during the research process because it was unclear

⁶ I. M. Miziyeu, "Chapter Two: What is Ethnogenesis," in "The History of the Karachai-Balkarian People: From the ancient times to joining Russia," <http://www.geocities.com/Tokyo/Pagoda/7675/chapt2.html> (March 20, 2005).

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *R v. Powley* [2003] S.C. R. 2003 SCC No.43.

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as to what may mark the beginning of European control. While claiming the territory, signing treaties, establishing settlements, and building infrastructure may all be markers of increasing control, it is unclear if any of these events are markers of “effective European control.”

Levels of European control grew over time, were incremental, and occurred at different rates throughout the Maritime region. Markers of such control appear to have happened at different times in different parts of the study region. The region was settled over a long period from the mid-1600s with the arrival of Jean Jacques Enaud in the Baie de Chaleur and Nicolas Denys in the Miramichi area to the 1760s when the English arrived in greater numbers and negotiated treaties with the Indians and established settlements and government. In Saint-Quentin, settlement came much later, in the early 20th century, with the arrival of Simon Galant and Joseph Melanson.

Thus, to be as broad and as inclusive as possible, this report focuses on evidence of mixed-ancestry communities in northeastern New Brunswick before and during the long period when Europeans began establishing increasing levels of control. No attempt was made to make any conclusions as to when “effective European control” took place, but possible markers of control are highlighted throughout the narrative section of this report.

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2. Chapter Two – Methodology

2.1. Introduction

The current study is a historical profile of mixed-ancestry (European-Indian) people in northern New Brunswick. It is concerned with the existing written historical record that was available largely within the Maritime region. For the most part, it does not consider oral histories nor does it consider the archival resources that might be available in all of the national and international archives. Furthermore, this report focuses on the possible emergence of mixed-ancestry people and their settlements in the period between the first North American contact with Europeans and prior to “effective European control” in the study region.

Chignecto Research used a variety of methods in order to effectively address the research questions. Research began by consulting secondary sources, such as the written histories of the study region and the specific communities of Bathurst, Miramichi, Allardville and Saint-Quentin as well as the history of the Atlantic region. Primary and archival materials were then reviewed in order to fill in the gaps present in secondary literature. The main focus of this research was on primary and archival sources, as available.

Key documents collected during the research process have been included in an accompanying appendix in order to provide further context and information. Each key document has a code to identify it in the footnotes, which allows the reader to locate the document in the appendix. For example in code A-1, A denotes that the document relates to “Appendix A, Demographic Information” and the 1 relates to the document number of Appendix A. The key document codes are as follows:

A	Demographic Information
B	Maps
C	Treaties
D	Division and Occupation of Territory
E	Genealogies
F	Journals and Diaries
G	Letters
H	Historical Publications

2.2. Secondary Source Research

A review of the secondary source material at a variety of library and institutions in both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia was undertaken. It was pertinent to conduct research in Nova Scotia because before 1784, New Brunswick was a part of Nova Scotia. Libraries that we visited included the Ralph Pickard Bell Library at Mount Allison University, as well as Mount Allison’s Bell Collection of Acadiana, the Harriet Irving Library at the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton, the New Brunswick Museum Archival and Research Library in Saint John, the Provincial Archives of New

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Brunswick's library (MC 80 collection), the library at the New Brunswick Aboriginal People's Council (NBAPC), the Bibliothèque Champlain at the Université de Moncton, the library in the Centre d'études acadiennes, also at the University de Moncton, the Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia, and Dalhousie University Library. Various secondary sources which were available on the internet were also consulted.

While this report does not focus on oral histories or provide a current-day context for the findings, it was still useful to meet with various historians, experts, and representatives of present-day mixed-ancestry groups. There are two groups in New Brunswick, which represent people with mixed Indian and European ancestry. They are the New Brunswick Aboriginal People's Council (NBAPC), formerly known as the New Brunswick Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians, and the East Coast First People's Alliance (ECFPA). The ECFPA was formed when certain members of NBAPC decided to form their own group. These groups assisted by sharing their research into their histories and genealogies, some of which have been entered as evidence in court cases. Notwithstanding, where possible all information and documentation collected from such organizations were verified against other sources.

Meetings were held with the Chief of NBAPC, Betty Ann Lavellée, who provided us with documents, books, and other research materials. Photocopies were made of key documents found in NBAPC's library. Meetings were also held with Board members of the ECFPA. Individual members provided their research materials, which included, for instance, a 1784 land grant for Caraquet for 34 families, many of whom were of mixed-ancestry. This has proven to be a very important document, and subsequent information was found on this land grant at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia (PANS), the Public Archives of New Brunswick (PANB), and in writings by noted New Brunswick historian William Francis Ganong and others. Other members of the ECFPA provided their genealogies and other documents. In addition, primary source research in the form of genealogies from people around the province was collected through contacts of the ECFPA.

One member of the ECFPA worked extensively with a local historian and genealogist, Hermel Duguay, of Bathurst, to conduct research about this land grant and the history of the Caraquet area.

Meetings were also held with local historians and experts, including Steven White, Genealogist, and Ronald LaBelle, Folklorist, at the Acadian Studies Centre, at the Université de Moncton. Topics of discussion included the existence of mixed-ancestry communities within New Brunswick, as well as Acadian history.

Within the Chignecto Research team were the resources of a professional historian and an instructor of Acadian history.

2.3. Primary Source Research

Archival research was conducted primarily at the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (PANB). The New Brunswick Museum Archives and Research Library was also useful as it houses the Ganong Fond. William Francis Ganong was a prominent and well-respected historian at the turn of the 20th

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century. Research was also undertaken at the Nova Scotia Provincial Archives. Early colonial records were examined.

The materials at the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick were particularly useful. A summary of some of those documents is attached. PANB has a record file/document titled, "Micmac and Maliseet Vital Statistics," which was compiled from New Brunswick church records by the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet Institute of the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton.⁹ These vital statistics have proven to be very useful as they list the details and heritage of people married or baptized in the church records. People are listed as "Indian" or "sauvage," although sometimes only the bride or the groom is listed as such. It is far more often that brides are listed as "Indian" or "sauvage" than the grooms.

Data from the *Micmac and Maliseet Vital Statistics* records at the New Brunswick Archives indicate that many mixed marriages occurred and were officially recorded. It is possible that these are mixed-marriages when one person is referred to as Indian, or "sauvage," etc. and not the other, although we cannot make this claim with any certainty. At the same time, it is also possible that many mixed marriages were not recorded as such at all. It is impossible to know from these records. What is evident is that these marriages occurred all over the province including: Fredericton, Barachois, Richibucto, and Tobique as well as many in the study area: St. Basile, Caraquet, Burnt Church, Dalhousie, Neguac, Red Bank, etc. However, as this document was copied from various church records, we were not in a position to verify the accuracy of these statistics in the current study.

PANB has also compiled Aboriginal Census Data from the original 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881 and 1891 for New Brunswick (PANB MC80/1648). This Census data lists people as being "Indian," "Aboriginal," and/or "Micmac," but it does not explain the differences between these terms and it does not make reference to mixed-ancestry people specifically. For this reason, this record was not helpful and has not been included as a key document. PANB also has an index to vital statistics from New Brunswick newspapers. However, this record is recorded by first and last names and (without extensive genealogy work) it is impossible to find information on mixed-ancestry people in this record. The following records¹⁰ were also researched: New Brunswick Land Grant Records (RS686), Benjamin Marsten's (the first sheriff in the study region) diary (F11086), MC3 collection of research papers, MC80 collection of rare secondary source documents.

Microform F10543 "Acadia 1681 to 1728" was reviewed but it was very difficult to read because of the poor quality of the reproduction. It does not appear that the Census records on this film differentiated enumerated for mixed-ancestry people.

Microform F457, entitled "Early History" was consulted. This collection contains bound volumes of

⁹ See Key Document A-1 for selections from *Mi'kmaq and Maliseet Vital Statistics* (Fredericton: Micmac and Maliseet Inst., UNBF). A hard copy of this book can be found in the Reading Room at PANB. There is no year of publication or reference locator number for it. *Mi'kmaq and Maliseet Vital Statistics* is also searchable on-line at: Micmac - Maliseet Institute and UNB Libraries' Electronic Text Centre, Maliseet & Micmac Vital Statistics from New Brunswick Church Records, <http://www.lib.unb.ca/Texts/Maliseet/ChurchRecords>.

¹⁰ Numbers in brackets here refer to reference locators and microfilm numbers at PANB.

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Nova Scotia Records for the period 1624 to 1867. They are transcripts of documents made at the Public Records Office in London, England, 'Relating to Nova Scotia or Acadia from the year 1624 to 1668.' It was compiled by Noel Sainsbury in 1880. There were also colonial documents and considerable information of Nova Scotia's early history, but again these documents were very difficult to read because of their poor quality. These are items that might require further investigation, though it might mean studying the original in London, England.

Also at PANB, Nicolas Denys' book, "Concerning the Ways of Indians: Their Customs, Dress, Methods of Hunting and Fishing, and their Amusements" was examined¹¹. It was first published in Paris by Nicolas Denys in 1672 and then by the Nova Scotia Museum, Department of Education. It is a valuable early description of Indian life.

Some useful information was uncovered at the Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia. The land papers for "Francois Gionnest and 33 others" were reviewed. These are background papers related to the 1784 land grant for Caraquet (when it was then still part of Nova Scotia).¹² These papers include the warrant to survey, surveyor's report, surveyor's certificate and a draft of the grant. The 1784 land grant for 34 families in Caraquet was also found, which the ECFPA had first alerted us to.¹³ A 1787 land petition letter by this same group of 34 families was found at PANB. In this letter, Francois Gionnest and 33 others asked for marshland in front of their grant in order to raise their animals.¹⁴

At PANB, the research team also consulted various microform reels belonging to the NB Museum collection, none of which had any useful information on mixed-ancestry people or "effective European control" in the study area. These collections included Bathurst (Microfilm #) F11078, Caraquet F11079, Nicolas Denys F11081, Forts F11082, New Brunswick Firsts F11088.

At the New Brunswick Museum Archives, the Ganong Fonds were examined as well as many of Ganong's research notes, draft maps and other sketches. These were not overly helpful as they did not specifically acknowledge mixed-ancestry people. Ganong's histories of Caraquet, Shippegan, Miscou, etc. were examined as part of the secondary review.

2.4. Time Management and Searching Methods

This project was very extensive and required many hours of research time, examining secondary sources and archival materials looking for what often amounted to shreds of information. There is virtually no secondary literature on mixed-ancestry people in New Brunswick, or on their possible communities. Because of the general lack of information, it often meant searching through numerous reels of microfilm looking for references to mixed-ancestry people and/or communities, as well as for

¹¹ Nicolas Denys' book can be found at PANB, in the Reading Room. Reference Location: MC80/422.

¹² D-2 PANS, RG 20 Series C, MFM 15686, 1784 Land Papers for "François Gionnest and 33 Others." (See Key Document D-2 for further details on these background land papers.)

¹³ D-1 PANS, MF 13041, Bk. 15, pg.7, 1784 Grande Grant for 34 families in Caraquet. (See D-1 for more information on the Grande Grant.)

¹⁴ D-3 PANB, MF1033, land petition letter written by François Gionnest in 1787 and response from the Nova Scotia government.

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markers of European control. This took an immense amount of time. Leads from historians, experts, and secondary sources that quoted other secondary and primary documents were followed up on, using a 'snowball' approach. This proved to be a more effective and efficient use of time and resources.

2.5. The Study Region

The study region is the northeastern area of New Brunswick (see Figures 1 and 2), and for the purposes of this study, specifically encompasses the areas around and between Miramichi, Bathurst, Allardville and Saint-Quentin. The Indians who lived in the Miramichi, Allardville and Bathurst areas at the time of European contact were the cultural grouping now known as Mi'kmaq, while those who lived in the Saint-Quentin area were most likely Maliseet (Malicite).

Figure1 – Map of Northern New Brunswick¹⁵

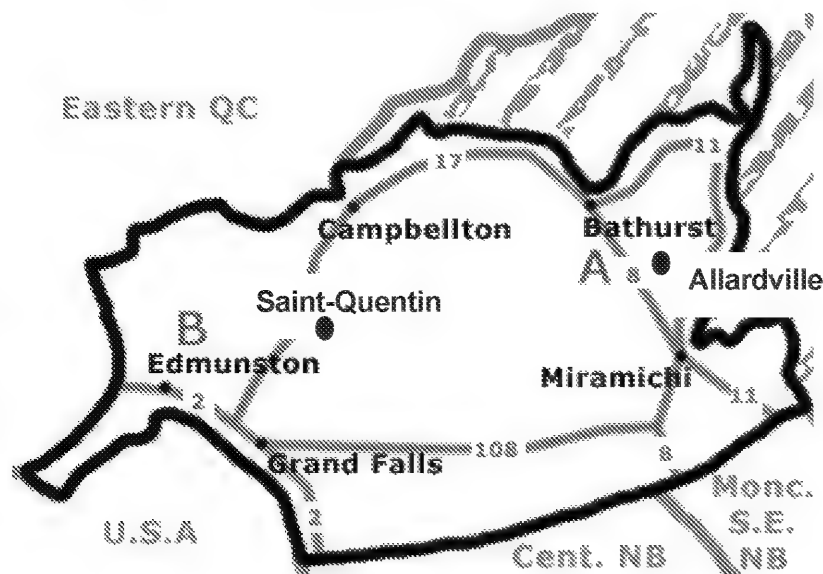
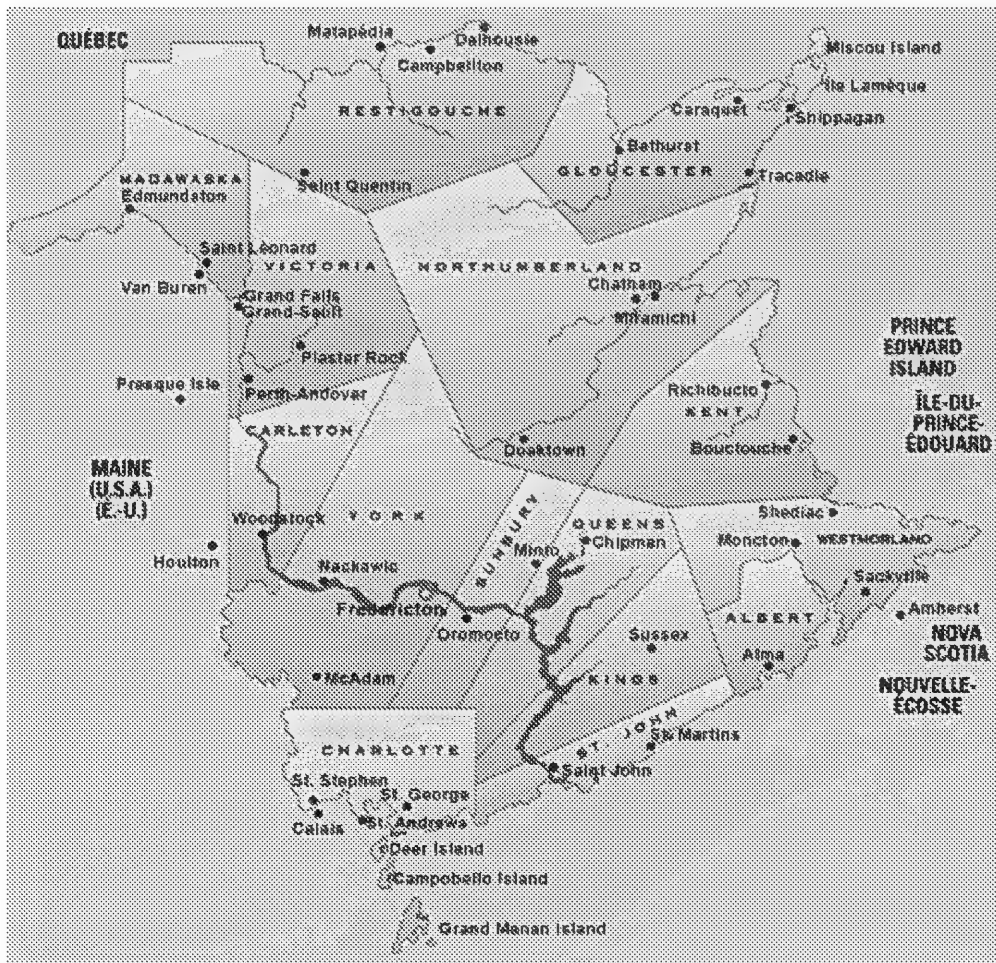


Figure 2 – Map of New Brunswick Counties¹⁶

¹⁵ Adapted from "New Brunswick - Northern NB, Canada Bed & Breakfast, Inn, Lodge and Cottage Directory, Online Availability and Reservations", CanVisit, <http://www.canvisit.com/Canada/New-Brunswick/Northern-NB/> (April 21, 2004).

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The study region includes Northumberland, Gloucester, and Restigouche Counties.

2.6. Limitation of the Data and Research Challenges with Primary Sources in the Maritimes

For the most part, mixed-ancestry people were the result of unions between Acadian men and Indian women. Indian people passed their history down through the generations with the use of oral histories and story telling. And early Acadians were for the most part illiterate, thus not leaving written records. One main limitation of this research is that oral histories could not be focused on.

After the Acadian Expulsion in 1755, many Acadians fled from Acadia, or Nova Scotia, to what is now the northeastern coast of New Brunswick. It was here that they hid in the forests. Many of them lived with Indians and adopted their lifestyles. They were friends. It was natural for them to intermarry. Acadians spent years running from the English and did not have time to build proper

¹⁶ Anonymous, "Maps of New Brunswick", New-Brunswick.Net, <http://new-brunswick.net/new-brunswick/maps/nb/nbmap.html> (April 21, 2004).

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houses let alone record their history. For example, in *Social and Architectural Aspects of Acadians in New Brunswick*, the author claims that there are no accounts written by Acadians on their way of life. Records that do exist were written by others who “were not closely related to the Acadians”.¹⁷ The author goes on to state that, “[t]he Acadians themselves were illiterates and the very few who could write, did not think it was necessary or prudent to write their own accounts.”¹⁸ Thus, written records of the Acadian people do not exist either.

There is little evidence of mixed-ancestry people in the official record. In Census data from 1851 in New Brunswick, “Métis” or something similar was not recorded, however “Scottish,” “Irish,” “French,” “Indian,” and “Aboriginal” were. In the 1871 Census, enumerators were told to enumerate “Indians” and “Half breeds/Métis”.¹⁹ At that time, the total population for New Brunswick was 285,594, including 1,403 listed as Indian. In the 1871 Census, no people declared themselves to be “Half breeds/Métis.” Thus, even though some people may have been of mixed-ancestry, they did not identify themselves, or were not identified as such, by Census takers.²⁰

The historical records often identified individuals by first and last name, and it is impossible to determine genealogical heritage from names alone. Often, at the time of marriages or baptisms, Indian people in the study region were given new French names, and this makes it difficult and often impossible to identify mixed-ancestry people in historical records by name alone. It appears that it was not considered important to list people’s ancestry or ethnicity in many historical records. This is an important finding though, as such practices (not recording ethnicity) in the study region might reflect European attitudes and social relations at the time.

The information found in what has become the historical record is often sketchy and not always reliable or accurate, as it was up to the Census collector, priests, etc. to record the information. Not surprisingly, they would have labeled people according to their own values and perceptions. The Vital Statistics referred to earlier does take note of some “half breeds” but it is impossible to tell if this was a term applied by the priest or whether people self-identified as such. Moreover, there is no way of telling how the term was applied. In other words, was it based only on physical appearance in which case people of mixed-blood ancestry might not look any different than someone who was not. As well, recorders of data may not have been concerned with mixed-ancestry at all. Some people of mixed-ancestry may have self-identified with one side of their ancestry or the other, but not both, or not as a new ethnicity.

There is simply not a lot of information that exists on mixed-ancestry people in New Brunswick, with the exception of Caraquet. However, even the people of Caraquet were not written about very much

¹⁷ Rodolphe Bourque, *Social and architectural aspects of the Acadians in New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1971), iv.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, v.

¹⁹ In the Census for 1871, under Origins of People, the Census listed two categories that are of interest for our purposes: “Halfbreed/Métis” and “Indian/Sauvages”. Clearly, the first use was considered an English spelling and the second a French spelling. Interestingly, the Census of 1891 used the word “Indian”, but the Census of 1901 used “Halfbreed/Métis” again, as did the 1941 Census. In 1981, the word “Métis” was used.

²⁰ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census of Canada, 1871. Ottawa, 1872.

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except for the writings of Ganong, Plessis and Smethurst. Their writings are among the key published primary sources in our research. As well, there are land grants and petitions for a group of mixed Norman and Indian people in Caraquet. These primary sources have been key. Genealogies of these original settlers of Caraquet, as well as for their descendants, have been obtained.

It was not possible to locate the first European woman who arrived in the study region, and thus unable to determine the first instance when there was a natural population increase amongst the colonists, or when the first Indian person was recorded in old Census records. In the early years of settlement, Census records were not complete and this part of New Brunswick was considered very remote. Both Allardville and Saint Quentin did not become villages until the early 1900s. As well, some primary sources are in France and England and thus out of reach and so there was a need to rely on secondary sources which quote these materials.

Thus, due to the various challenges faced in obtaining primary sources, secondary sources that quoted original records were relied on. When citing secondary sources, footnotes are used to assist the reader in understanding the underlying primary documentary sources, if they exist, in the footnotes. In other words, the primary source quoted within the secondary source is clearly identified, wherever possible. All secondary sources were examined in order to document any primary sources cited within them. However, many of the older secondary sources, such as books and articles by Ganong, Mersereau, Cooney, Hannay and others, provide few, if any, references in their work. As well, sources from the latter part of the 20th century such as Poirier, Landry, Dickason and others do not clearly reference every fact or idea they write about. Thus, identifying primary sources from secondary sources proved difficult and often impossible.

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3. Chapter Three – The Pre-Contact Era (at least 10,600 years ago to the 16th century)

3.1. Pre-Historic Indian Culture

Some of the Mi'kmaq who lived along the eastern coast of New Brunswick frequented the Miramichi area and fished its waters. Oral histories record that the Grand Council of Mi'kmaqs met every summer along the coast to decide on hunting grounds for the following winter. In fact, where the Northwest and Little Southwest Miramichi Rivers meet, there are many archaeological sites that date back to pre-historic times. This area is called Red Bank or Metepenagiag by the Mi'kmaq, and is believed to be New Brunswick's oldest village.²¹ There is also an ancient Indian burial ground at this site called the Augustine Mound. It is believed that there were no Indian settlements at the present-day towns of Chatham and Douglastown, but that Mi'kmaq people traveled near these places and used settlements found further upriver, above the present site of Newcastle.²²

As they did in the Miramichi area, Mi'kmaq people occupied the Baie de Chaleur area long before the time of European contact. They had their fishing and hunting headquarters at the mouth of the Nepisiguit River at a place they called Winkka Piguwik, or “place of troubled waters.”²³ French explorer Jacques Cartier arrived in 1534 and discovered the natural riches of the bay. It was used for many fishing and trading journeys during the following century.²⁴

As explained above, the archeologists believe that the ancestors of the Mi'kmaq people lived along New Brunswick's eastern shore for thousands of years before the first Europeans landed. The ocean, the inlets, the rivers and the forests molded the life of these people on the Atlantic coast. Unlike the complex material culture that emerged among West Coast Indians, the basic unit of society in Atlantic Canada was the band. When the coasts and rivers failed to sustain them, particularly during February and March, the Mi'kmaq were forced to hunt game in smaller groups. From April to October, they lived on the coast, usually at the mouth of a river at the head of a bay, at village sites to which they regularly returned. In the autumn, they began to move inland among the rivers, taking fish and waterfowl as they dispersed themselves into smaller units to prepare for the winter hunt.²⁵ In New Brunswick, “the lines of regular travel seem to have followed exclusively the rivers and the portage paths between their heads ... [T]hey undoubtedly wandered far and wide, and especially in the valleys of the smaller and navigable brooks.”²⁶ According to historian Merle Milson, they had five or six trails through the woods from the Miramichi River to the Saint John River.²⁷

²¹ Patricia Allen, *Metepenagiag: New Brunswick's Oldest Village* (Red Bank: Red Bank First Nation and Goose Lane Editions, 1994), 11-16.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ A.J. McCarthy, *Images of our Past: Historic Bathurst on the Bay of Chaleur* (Halifax: Nimbus Pub., 1999), iv.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ See Upton, “Contact and Conflict,” 4-5.

²⁶ William F. Ganong, *A Monograph of Historic Sites of New Brunswick* (Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada, J. Durie & Son, 1899), 237.

²⁷ Merle Milson, “The Native People of the Miramichi,” cited in *People of the Miramichi*, by The Miramichi Literacy Council, (Chatham, NB: Miramichi Literacy Council, 1996), 11.

Mi'kmaq culture utilized both land-based and Maritime resources. For example, birch bark was used to make boats, wigwams, pots, dishes, baskets, drums, and even medicine. Wood was used to heat their homes and cook their food. Roots were used for sewing, and small trees were used for bows and arrows. Animal bones and rocks made useful tools. The most important animal to the Mi'kmaq was the moose. It provided not only food, but also clothing, footwear, blankets, coats and more.²⁸

3.2. Locations of Indian Camps in New Brunswick

Ganong, the noted historian, cited several criteria that the Indians used for determining the location of a good campground for the Indians, mostly based on conditions in the environment.²⁹ The most important of these criteria was the location of good hunting and fishing grounds. Once the best hunting and fishing grounds were established, several other criteria came to play to determine the actual location of the camp itself. The first of these was a well drained, level, and dry space, located beside the water. Second, the camp had to be located near a good spring for drinking, and the third, was a good supply of firewood. The fourth essential criterion was a good beach for landing and beaching canoes. The fifth criterion was proximity to a grove of paper birch, from the bark of which the Indians made their canoes, wigwams and other essential utensils. Finally, the camp had to be located at the end or intersection of rivers to see approaching visitors and to expose the camp to breezes to lessen the plague of insects.³⁰

3.3. Archaeological Findings

Some of the early Indian campsites have provided interesting archaeological evidence. As explained above, archaeological evidence suggests that Indians have been living in the Maritime Region of Canada for more than 10,600 years. It is quite possible that people were living there earlier but no physical traces of their presence have yet been found. The ancestors of the present-day Maliseet and Mi'kmaq were pre-eminently hunters and fishers, as the Maritime Region was at the northern limits of Indian horticulture. The earliest inhabitants constructed their weapons with which they hunted game, cleaned the hides, and cooked the meat. A campsite discovered at Debert, Nova Scotia, which is near the border with present-day New Brunswick, confirms this. However, it is now believed by many archaeologists that the shorelines of 10,000 to 5,000 years ago no longer exist, and that the rising sea levels could explain the lack of evidence of inhabitants in the Maritimes after the time of the human occupation at Debert. In fact, scallop fishermen dragging offshore in the Bay of Fundy and along the north shore of Prince Edward Island have brought up artifacts reminiscent of an earlier age.³¹

²⁸ See, Stephen A. Davis, "Early Societies: Sequences of Change," cited in Phillip A. Buckner and John G. Reid, eds., *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History* (Toronto and Fredericton, University of Toronto Press, 1994), 19-21; David Sanger, "Deadman's Pool – A Tobique Complex Site in Northern New Brunswick," *Man in the Northeast* 2 (1971), 53; and Frances L. Stewart, "Seasonal Movements of Indians in Acadia as Evidenced by Historical Documents and Vertebrate Faunal Remains from Archaeological Sites," *Man in the Northeast* 38 (1989).

²⁹ William F. Ganong, *A Monograph of the Origins of the Settlements in New Brunswick* (Royal Society of Canada, 1904).

³⁰ See Key Document B-2 for identification of some of these pre-historic known village and camp sites in Ganong's *Origins of Settlement*, 20.

³¹ Stephen A. Davis, *The Micmac* (Halifax, N.S. : Nimbus, 1997), 12-13.

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The Augustine Burial Mound excavations near the present-day site of Metepenagiag First Nation (or Red Bank, near Miramichi) show that Indians were in the area at least 3,000 years ago. They traveled great distances and were experienced nomadic people.³²

Another excavation site is in the Baie de Chaleur, along New Brunswick northeastern coast. When Jacques Cartier arrived in the Bay in 1534, he spotted a group of Indians on the shore. In May 1988, the New Brunswick Department of Tourism dug up the exact site where Cartier first met with these Indians. Uncovered were stone tools believed to have belonged to Mi'kmaq Indians 2,000 years ago.

³³ This spot (Alston Point) is believed to have been a summer camp used by Mi'kmaq who hunted migratory birds, dug clams, and fished. It is near present-day Bathurst.

³² H-13 Rev. Charles Mersereau, "A History of Our Community: Bathurst in the Beginning," *The Northern Light*, Wed. Jan. 1, 1992 (no page #s).

³³ H-13 *Ibid.*

4. Chapter Four - The Contact Period: 16th and 17th Centuries

4.1. Contact

Many of the Maritime Indian people came in contact with European explorers and/or settlers at the beginning of the 16th and 17th centuries. After the arrival of European fishermen and settlers, the way of life for Indian people changed. By most accounts, the Indians were initially able to cope with the technology that the Europeans introduced. They began wearing European clothes, and using European instruments. The iron and copper goods from Europe brought considerable change to the lives of the Maritime Indians, but James Axtell has argued that "adaptation [of artifacts] is less often a sign of capitulation than of capitalization."³⁴ Still, this was a period of "... increasing acculturation, despite strong Micmac feelings of self-worth and their skepticism of claims that France was the superior nation when the French seemed so eager to leave it to voyage to Micmac lands."³⁵ With the introduction of European trade items, particularly those of metal and cloth, there was, subsequently, a considerable loss of much Indian material culture.³⁶ The Indians began to hunt animals not only for food but also for trade with the Europeans. However, Indian societies were unable to deal with the arrival of diseases, such as smallpox and influenza, which became epidemic, for which they had no immunological defences, and which left them susceptible to high mortality and morbidity of new diseases.³⁷

The earliest European visitors to the Maritime region of Canada were fishermen who came to the Grand Banks and stopped along the coastline at any number of possible locations. With this contact, came early forms of trading. Jacques Cartier explored the northeastern coast of present-day New Brunswick during his travels in 1534. According to Smith, Chief Membelou (or Membertou) was the first Indian mentioned in a historical record. It is generally accepted that he was the head Chief over all of the Indians in the three Maritime provinces and the Gaspé.³⁸ Membertou told Champlain that he had met Cartier in 1535, when Champlain and de Monts met him in 1605-07. He was described as being "friendly to the white man", and clearly very old.³⁹

It should be noted that resources prized by both settler and nomadic populations – transportation routes, floodplains, estuary food sources, fishing grounds, sheltered berths, etc. – were often sited at the same geographic location, leading to frequent co-location and competition for the resources. The sites that the Indians has used for their camps were the best for the other.⁴⁰ Some European men, as they intermingled with their Indian neighbors, married Indian women. It is evident from both primary and secondary sources that this did occur in many areas of New Brunswick, including the study

³⁴ James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: (no publisher) 1981), 246.

³⁵ Alan D. McMillan, *Native Peoples and Cultures of Canada* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1988), 50.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Axtell, *The European and the Indian*, 246.

³⁸ H-18 A Carle Smith, *The Mosaic Province of New Brunswick* (Saint John: Lingley Printing Co. Ltd., 1965), 6.

³⁹ H-18 *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ H-18 *Ibid.*, 12-13.

region.

James (Sakej) Youngblood Henderson attempts to define the relationship between the Indians in North America and the Holy See of the Catholic Church and the French Kings during the Holy Roman Empire. Henderson, a graduate of the Harvard Law School and former Research Director of the Union of Nova Scotia Indians, was the Director of the Native Law Centre of Canada at the College of Law at the University of Saskatchewan. He acknowledges that he is part of the post-colonial theory of Indian scholars that criticize the fact that "historical experience of colonized Aborigines comes to be framed in Eurocentric scholarship. It [post-colonial theory] seeks to end the privileged position of Eurocentrism and colonial thought in modern society and create parity in modern thought."⁴¹ To do so, Henderson "seeks to unite Mikmaq knowledge with Euro-Canadian knowledge in the context of legal history".⁴² Relying on literary sources, Mi'kmaq hieroglyphs and wampum belts, and oral sources, he argues that between 1610 and 1630 a public Treaty was worked out with the Holy See, representing the Catholic Church (and hence the King of France). With the Mi'kmaq Concordat, he argues that the Holy See's doctrine of imperium recognized Indian sovereigns as equal to European monarchs, and that under the Concordat, the Mi'kmaq considered their leaders equal to the European monarchs. And, Henderson argues, the French leaders, such as Richelieu, subsequently considered the Mi'kmaq "differently that he did other tribal lands".⁴³

4.2. The Beginning of Acadian Settlement

As trade continued in the New World, permanent settlements developed. Samuel de Champlain explored the mouth of the Bay of Fundy, and the southwestern coast of New Brunswick in 1604, establishing the first French settlement at Ste.-Croix. This settlement failed and was moved to Port Royal in the summer of 1605. The first settlers in the Maritime region were emigrants from France who arrived in 1604 under the auspices of Monsieur Pierre du Gua De Monts.⁴⁴ About three hundred settlers were brought from France to Port Royal between 1632 and 1635 by Isaac de Razilly and his lieutenant, d'Aulnay Charnisay. As well, in later years smaller groups arrived, as well as soldiers.⁴⁵

The English were not willing to permit France to control North America, and England and France fought over possession of this new world for over a century. The first land grant in eastern Canada was given by King James I of England in 1621 to his secretary Sir William Alexander, who called the territory Nova Scotia (New Scotland). "Sir William being unable to colonize his grant, sold it to Claude De La Tour, a French nobleman; and the Treaty of St. Germaine's, ratified in 1632, ceding Acadia to France, the French became possessors of it by both convection and purchase."⁴⁶

"For twenty-two years after the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye in 1632, the Acadian lands were in French hands and by 1654 a resident population was established and which was more or less sedentary

⁴¹ James (Sakej) Youngblood Henderson, *The Mikmaq Concordat*. (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1997), 23.

⁴² *Ibid*, 23.

⁴³ *Ibid*, 89-90.

⁴⁴ H-3 Cooney, *A Compendious History*, 14-15.

⁴⁵ H-3 *Ibid.*, 15-33.

⁴⁶ H-3 *Ibid.*, 15.

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and agricultural, from which a large proportion of the later Acadians were descended. Indeed, this is the real beginning of French settlement in Acadia.”⁴⁷ This was primarily at the Port Royal area. The first French settlers were from the north of France, from seaports including Lunenburg, and Saint Malo.⁴⁸

During the early settlement of Acadia, England and France were engaged in a lengthy struggle for control of the territory of Acadia. British from Massachusetts, led by Robert Sedgewick of Boston, destroyed Port Royal in 1654.⁴⁹ Thereafter, the British began establishing trading posts in the area. However, control of Acadia again returned to France by the Treaty of Breda in 1667. At this time, a calmer relationship began to form between the French and the Mi’kmaq.⁵⁰

The first Census in Acadia was taken in 1671. Up to that year, most of the Acadian families resided at Port Royal. At this time, there were 441 people in all of Acadia (which included New Brunswick). However, not counting soldiers and transient fishermen, there were 401 actual settlers. This included 74 families, and 68 of these (363 people) lived at Port Royal. This Census also showed that there were an equal number of adult males and females.⁵¹ The next Census of Acadia was in 1686 and in the 15 years that had elapsed since the first Census, the population had more than doubled.⁵²

This Census included Richard Denys, son of Nicolas Denys, residing in Miramichi and Jean Jacques Enaud living at Nepisiquit (Bathurst), who had both married Indian women.⁵³ These were two important early settlers in northeastern New Brunswick.⁵⁴

4.3. Early Settlers in Northeastern New Brunswick

4.3.1. Miramichi Settlers

Long before the early Acadian Censuses were taken, French settlers were exploring the northeastern coast of New Brunswick. It was Samuel de Champlain who first mentioned Miramichi in a 1603 voyage. He called it “Misamichy” on his maps. The first French settler in present-day Miramichi area is believed to be Nicholas Denys who arrived in 1650 from Cape Breton together with his wife and children.⁵⁵ He was born in Tours, France in 1598, and had married an Indian woman, whose name is unknown, most likely in Cape Breton. Nicolas moved to Nipisiquit (Bathurst) in 1685 and died there in 1688 around the age of 90.⁵⁶ However, Rev. Charles Mersereau puts Nicolas and his wife in the

⁴⁷ Andrew H. Clark, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 90.

⁴⁸ H-3 Cooney, *A Compendious History*, 30.

⁴⁹ Clark, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760*, 94.

⁵⁰ John Bartlet Brebner, *The Explorers of North America (1492-1806)* (New York: MacMillan, 1933).

⁵¹ H-11 James Hannay, *A History of Acadia: from its first discovery to its surrender to England by the Treaty of Paris* (Saint John: J&A McMillan, 1879).284.

⁵² H-11 *Ibid.*, 285.

⁵³ H-11 *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ It was not possible to locate any other early demographics in this study area within the remaining time limits of the project.

⁵⁵ Milson, “The Native People of the Miramichi.”

⁵⁶ Anonymous, “Chapter 1 L’Ere de Micmacs,” <http://ahcn.acadie.net/histoire/Baie/Chap1.html> (January 9,

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Bathurst area as early as 1644.⁵⁷ Nicolas's son, Richard Denys, stayed in the Miramichi and brought more French settlers to the area.

Like his father, Richard married an Indian woman, Anne Parabego (or Palarabego). "Anne était peut-être la fille d'un chef micmac de la baie de Miramichi car les seigneurs français qui ont épousé des Amérindiennes choisissaient des filles de chef, comme le baron de Saint Castin, qui en 1688, a épousé Mathilde, fille du grand chef des Abénaquis."⁵⁸ Richard and Anne had three mixed-ancestry children, Nicolas, Anne, and Louis.⁵⁹

Richard built a small fort near the current location of Burnt Church.⁶⁰ It is not known if he was affiliated with any organizations or groups, or if he was considered a "free trader." However, it is known that Richard Denys was named Sieur de Fronsac. Fronsac was the name of a place in Cape Breton, which was named in honor of the Cardinal Richelieu, duc de Fronsac. Some historians believe that Richard was born in Cape Breton around 1654 at Saint-Pierre, close to Fronsac. Richard lived a few kilometers southwest of present-day Newcastle.⁶¹

Local historian, Dorreen Menzies Arbuckle, writes that in a Census of 1688, Richard Denys had in the Miramichi region twelve permanent male residents who stayed in the summer as well as winter, a clerk in command, ten men who would come and go in the summer as they fished for cod, and four resident French families. The LaGasse, Desré and LaFleur families totaled fourteen people. And there were five people in the Denys family. At this time, there were also materials on hand to build a sawmill. Denys had oxen, and grew vegetables, grain, and fruit.⁶²

Marie Denys (daughter of Nicolas and sister to Richard) married Michel LeNeuf de la Vallière, Seigneur de Beaubassin and Governor-Administrator of Acadia from 1678 to 1684.⁶³ They married around 1660. It is not known if she remained in the Miramichi area or moved elsewhere, and we do not have any information on any children that they may have had.

Arbuckle writes that an early missionary to visit the Miramichi was Father Martin Lionne in 1646.⁶⁴ Milson, a local historian, states that around 1660 Father LeClerq taught the Mi'kmaq people the Bible with the use of pictures, and some Mi'kmaqs became Catholic.⁶⁵ Father LeClerq named the river La

2004). Translation: Anne was probably the daughter of a Micmac chief from Miramichi Bay because French Lords who married Indian women chose chiefs' daughters, like the Baron de Saint Castin, who in 1688 married Mathilda, daughter of the grand chief of the Abanaquis.

⁵⁷ H-13 Mersereau, "A History of Our Community," (no page #s).

⁵⁸ "Chapter 1 L'Ere de Micmacs," 7.

⁵⁹ Doreen Menzies Arbuckle, *The Northwest Miramichi* (Ottawa: Westboro Printers Ltd., 1978), 11.

⁶⁰ Milson, "The Native People of the Miramichi," 14.

⁶¹ Arbuckle, *The Northwest Miramichi*, 9-12.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 11.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ NB Historical Coll. No. 4, 1899, 85 LeClerq Chap.XI *Indians of Quebec and the Maritime Provinces* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972), 12 cited in Arbuckle, *The Northwest Miramichi*, 33.

⁶⁵ Milson, "The Native People of the Miramichi," 15.

Rivière de St. Croix in 1677.⁶⁶

There is no evidence in the historical record examined that there was a group or community of mixed-ancestry people living together in the Miramichi area in the 1600s. However, there were some mixed-ancestry families that lived in the Miramichi in the early settlement period.

4.3.2. Bathurst Settlers

Nepisiguit (present day Bathurst) is in the Baie de Chaleur. Jacques Cartier named it Baie de Chaleur because of the heat he experienced there on July 9, 1534.⁶⁷ Settlement in the Bathurst area preceded that of the Miramichi. Jean Jacques Enaud, from Basque (France), is believed to have arrived in the Bathurst area in 1638.⁶⁸ He is considered by some to be the first European man to live on the shores of northern New Brunswick. He married an "Indian woman of some distinction".⁶⁹ While it is not known for certain, it is likely that she was a Mi'kmaq, given their presence in the area. He traded with the Indians in furs, fish and walrus ivory, which were shipped to France. He also built a fort and grist mill. He lived first in the Miramichi, but quarreled with the Indians and moved to Bathurst. According to oral history, he was eventually killed by his wife's brother with a tomahawk while walking along a forest path.⁷⁰ Father Bernardin, the first local missionary, established his mission at Nepisiguit, at Point Au Père (Gowan Brae) in 1619. "In 1635, the Jesuits arrived at Miscou to establish St. Charles Mission, and from there branched out to other districts of the area."⁷¹ In 1645, two Jesuit priests from Miscou (not far from Bathurst), Father Richard and de Lyonne, built a "substantial" chapel with the help of Nicolas Denys who had arrived with his wife in 1644 from Miramichi.⁷² At this time, he was there to establish a fort at Point au Père near the Chapel, across the harbour from the Enaud's trading station.

In 1645, Nicolas Denys was appointed Governor of the Gulf of St. Lawrence region from Cape Breton to Gaspé. He went on to build many forts and trading posts in this extensive region that he governed. According to author, Régis Brun, he then built a fort⁷³ at Néguaac in 1647.⁷⁴ Ganong writes that, "[i]n 1652 Nicholas Denys, Governor and Proprietor of all the land from Cape Breton to Gaspé, established here [in Miscou] a trading post and made him a pleasant garden."⁷⁵ In 1668, he also established a fort for his headquarters at Bathurst. According to Ganong, Denys had another trading establishment at Nepisiguit, near where he is believed to have been buried.⁷⁶ Denys wrote his 1672 book while living

⁶⁶ Arbuckle, *The Northwest Miramichi*, 14-15.

⁶⁷ William F. Ganong, "The History of Miscou," *Acadiensis* VI, No. 2 (April 1906): 82.

⁶⁸ Biggar, *Memories of Bathurst*, 21.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Biggar, *Memories of Bathurst*, 21.

⁷¹ H-13 Mersereau, "A History of Our Community," (no page #s).

⁷² H-13 *Ibid.*

⁷³ The current research did not yield the name of the fort or who operated it.

⁷⁴ Régis Brun, "De Grand-Pré à Kouchibouguac: L'Histoire d'un peuple exploité," *éditions d'acadie* (1982).

⁷⁵ Ganong, "The History of Miscou," 83. It was not possible to reference the original source as Ganong, from whom we found mention of the fort, did not provide a reference list.

⁷⁶ Nicolas Denys, *Description géographique et historique des costes de l'Amerique septentrionale* (Paris, 1672). Translated by W.F. Ganong and published in W.F. Ganong, *The History of Caraqueet and Pokemouche*, 1907.

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in Bathurst. He died in 1688.

4.4. European Women in Acadia

During the first few decades of French settlement in Acadia (1636-1667) while Enaud and the Denys family were establishing their settlements, forts and trading stations, French women were rarely risking the hazardous crossing of the Atlantic. As well, the King of France did not send his “Filles du Roi” to the Maritime region, as he did for Quebec. Thus, there was little alternative for French male settlers seeking marriage partners but to marry Indian women. Historians writing about mixed-ancestry marriages in the northwest fur trade have noted that having an Indian or mixed-ancestry wife had many advantages over European women because they knew the land well.⁷⁷ As well, in the fur trade, Indian women played a vital role in strengthening family connections, kinship and trading alliances. Intermarriage was one way to facilitate this.⁷⁸

According to Brun, no European women arrived in Acadia before 1627. Specifically, Brun states,

Ces comptoirs étaient exploités par des petits commerçants, avec l'aide d'employes qui souvent prenaient femme chez l'Amérindien, ce qui explique la naissance d'enfants métis en Acadie. Car tout indique qu'avant 1627, il n'est pas venu une seule femme européenne en Acadie. Par après, autant pendant le régime français que pendant le régime anglais, des mariages et alliances mixtes continuèrent d'avoir lieu entre Micmacs, Malécites et Acadiens.⁷⁹

Hannay, one of the earliest historians of the region, discusses the women in Acadia between 1638 and 1693:

Very few women came out from France after the first immigrations prior to 1638 so that, although new families were founded, the mothers were in most cases Acadians of original stock and so the unity of race of preserved. Grand-fontaine brought out four girls and one woman among his sixty immigrants of 1671, and these seem to have been the only females brought to Acadia by the French Government. A further proof of this fact is furnished by the remarkable scarcity of marriageable women in Acadia at all times. By the census of 1686, it appears that there were three hundred and forty-two unmarried males in Acadia and only two hundred and forty-five unmarried females.

(Later published by the Champlain Society of Toronto.)

⁷⁷ See Key Document H-4 Dickason, “From one Nation,” 22.

⁷⁸ See Key Document H-4 *Ibid*. It should be pointed out however, that the early French settlers identified in the region through the course of this research were not primarily engaged in the fur trade.

⁷⁹ Brun, “De Grand-Pré à Kouchibouguac,” 20. Translation: Agencies were exploited by small traders who took Amerindian wives, which explains the birth of “métis” children in Acadia. Before 1672, not a single European woman came to Acadia. During the French regime and during the English regime, mixed marriages and alliances continued to have a link between Micmacs, Malecites and Acadians.

These figures include the children of every age ... The census of 1693 shows three hundred and eighty-three unmarried males and only two hundred and seventy-five unmarried females. Fortunately, in this census the ages are given. There were two men between thirty-one and forty unmarried, but no single women of that age. There were fourteen unmarried men between twenty-one and thirty, but only four unmarried women of the same age.... [A]bout twenty per cent of the Acadian girls were married before they had reached their sixteenth year, and scarcely any were left unmarried at twenty. This excess of males continued as long as Acadia was a French Province.⁸⁰

Yet, other evidence casts doubt on the claim that Hannay makes. This chart shows that European women were in Acadia in the 17th century.

Table 1 – Population in Acadia from 1671 to 1714⁸¹

Year	Total	Male	Female	Children
1671	441	75	75	246
1686	885	152	146	587
1693	1009	557	452	
1698	789	439	360	
1701	1134	597	537	
1714	1173	903	870	

While these are aggregate numbers culled from the various Censuses between 1671 and 1714, the picture that emerges when the numbers are given for local areas that were included in the Censuses is similar. Some examples of this include the following:

Table 1a - Census of 1671

Location	Males	Females	Children
Port Royal	68	68	227
Poboncom	3	3	8
Cape Neigre	1	1	5
Pentagoet	1	1	--
St. Pierre (Cape Breton)	1	1	1

Table 1b - Census of 1686

Location	Males	Females	Children
Port Royal	97	100	395

⁸⁰ H-11 Hannay, *A History of Acadia*, 291-292.

⁸¹ Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada 1665-1871 Volume IV* (Ottawa, 1876).

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Cap De Sable	5	4	6
La Heve	6	6	7
Les Mines	10	10	37
Nepissigny	1	1	4

Table 1c - Census of 1693

Location	Males	Females	Children
Cape Sable	12	13	18
Port Royal	276	224	332
Beaubassin	65	54	82
Rivière St. Jean	10	10	8
Pentagoet	11	9	14

Table 1d - Census of 1698

Location	Males	Females	Children
Port Royal	84	84	391
Beaubassin	24	28	117
Rivière St. Jean	1	1	3
Terre de Freneuse	7	7	21

Table 1e - Census of 1701

Location	Males	Females	Children
Port Royal	66	66	301
Beaubassin	31	32	125
Les Mines	81	77	332

Table 1f - Census of 1714

Location	Males	Females	Children
Port Royal	71	82	292
Baulieu	4	4	20
Cappe	35	37	127
Proche le Fort	38	40	145
Les Mines	47	48	192
Les Gasperaux	4	4	27
Pigiguit	52	53	232

Several observations can be made from these Censuses: there is not a vast imbalance between males and females either in the aggregate number or in individual villages that were included in the

Censuses. The greatest disparity appears in 1693 when there were 105 more men than women. In addition, it has been established by various sources that in the fur trade in the Great Lakes Basin and in western Canada where there were virtually no women of European descent for marriage partners, the earliest traders married Indian women. The Census numbers presented here show that in Acadia there was a roughly equal number of men and women and a readily available pool of marriage partners for the period between 1671 and 1714, although it must be acknowledged that this chart is for the aggregate population and given for the communities that were included in the Censuses.⁸²

4.5. Intermarriage in the 1600s

It is likely, nonetheless, that French arrivals and local Acadian men began to intermingle and intermarry with local Indian women. Dr. Harald E.L. Prins, professor of cultural anthropology, examines the topic of Mi'kmaq-Acadian intermarriages in his contribution to a series of case studies on cultural anthropology. In his case study, he argues that the French, unlike their Protestant neighbours in New England, found it acceptable to have sexual liaisons with Indian women, as they placed little emphasis on "racial" matters. They placed great emphasis, however, on social ties of kin and friendship and to establish a widespread social network they frequently took spouses from neighbouring tribes. When the Mi'kmaq saw few women in the early French settlements, Prins suggests that the Mi'kmaq would have recognized the "plight of their neighbours" and would have not objected to intermarriage between the two groups. Moreover, the French, unlike the Protestants, did not frown upon marriages between the French and the Mi'kmaq. "Cases of miscegenation were many and varied," Prins concluded, "spawned by love, lust, convenience, alliance building, economic opportunity – or some combination of these".⁸³ Not surprisingly, then, many of the latter 17th century "French seigneurs" who had Indian neighbours had sexual relations with Indian women, and many of these relationships resulted in marriage such as the case of Richard Denys. Using records that he describes as nine volumes of Paris Documents, Prins found that "there [were] married men who, in addition to their own wives, [kept] Squaws." He does not provide any names or locations.⁸⁴

M. Rameau, the author of "La France au Colonies," has been fiercely attacked for ascribing the great friendship which existed between the Acadians and the Indians to these marriages. Nevertheless, there is clear proof that marriages and other unions took place in Acadian history. According to Hannay, there are at least four undoubted marriages of Acadians to Indian women recorded in the official Census returns prepared for the information of the French government, three of which had children. The marriages in question are those of St. Castin at Penobscot, Pierre Martin at Port Royal and Martin Lejeune at La Have.⁸⁵ Hannay goes on to claim that,

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Paris Documents (9 volumes), and in New York Colonial Documents, 1849-18, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, edited by E.B. Callaghan (Albany, Wee, Parsons), Volumes 9 & 10, cited in Harald E.L. Prins, *The Mi'kmaq. Resistance, Accommodation, and Cultural Survival* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1996), 67.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ H-11 Hannay, *A History of Acadia*, 293.

Whether there were other marriages of a similar character prior to 1714, is a matter which it is, perhaps, not worth while to inquire into, for the census of that year supplies no information on the subject. Colonel Vetch, in a letter written to the Lords of Trade in the year, states to this and their being of one religion he ascribes the influence which the French had over the latter.⁸⁶

Prins argues that there were many more than just four official marriages in Acadia. In his book, Prins provides many examples that he culled from various sources. His description is summarized here: in 1610, a young French fur trader fled with the wife of a Maliseet chieftain on the lower St. John (west of the study region). The Chief complained to the seigneur of Port Royal and the young man was arrested. However, he soon escaped and fled to live with the "Indians". On another occasion, a French man in the Bay of Fundy "debauched" a chieftain's daughter, and the "injury" was finally compensated when the pair was married.⁸⁷ One of the first church-confirmed marriages was that of Sieur de La Tour, who sought refuge among the Mi'kmaq when the British attacked Port Royal in 1613. After living with the Mi'kmaq women in 1626, he had three daughters, "the oldest being the first metis child mentioned in the history of the region".⁸⁸ She subsequently married the Basque colonist Martin d'Aprendestigny (later Sieur de Martignon) and had a fort at the mouth of the St. John River (south west of the study region) after 1672. According to Prins, Richard Denys, who owned a large seigneurie at the Miramichi, married a Mi'kmaq women named Anne Patarabego and had two children with her.⁸⁹ In 1676, Denys employed a 24-year old surgeon named Philippe Enault at Nepisiguit (an old name for Bathurst) who also married a Mi'kmaq woman and had several children. Two other Frenchmen at Nepisiguit also married Mi'kmaq women. When Enault died sometime after 1690, "his metis offspring appears to have scattered among the Mi'kmaqs".⁹⁰

4.6. Mixed Marriages Were Encouraged During Certain Periods

Mixed marriages were, at times, encouraged between Indians and Europeans. The French colonial government, for example, encouraged intermarriage for two main reasons. First, they wished to create one race of people and become one people with their Indian friends. Second, they were unable to populate their new colony with many people because they needed them in France. At this time in Europe, the power and greatness of a country was measured by the size of its population. Thus, by having children with the local Indians they were able to create instant French subjects in their new colony. In the colonies, the authorities often encouraged intermarriages between the Indian people and French to produce a colonial hybrid population, "a complete fusion of the two races by bringing them into perfect contact".⁹¹

⁸⁶ H-11 *Ibid.*, 296

⁸⁷ Prins, *The Micmac*, 67-69.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁹¹ Prins, *The Micmac*, 67. Here Prins quotes Chrestien LeClercq, *New relations of Gaspesia, with the customs and religion of the Gaspesian Indians*.

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Olive Dickason, a retired professor of history who has written widely on the history of Indian people, states that in the period between 1570 and 1635 Samuel de Champlain stated, “[o]ur young men will marry your daughters. And we shall be one people”.⁹² Champlain said this on two occasions in Quebec to his Indian allies. Subsequent administrators continued to encourage mixed unions, which were church-sanctified.⁹³ Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the king’s advisor, would later share this dream; indeed the encouragement of intermarriage was at one period official French policy.⁹⁴

A letter from Monsieur de la Varenne was published in 1758 in London. In it, he describes the Acadian people. “They were a mixed breed, that is to say, most of them proceeded from marriages or concubinage of the savage women with the first settlers who were of various races, but chiefly French.”⁹⁵ Dickason states that this same argument was made earlier in 1753 by Pierre-Antoine-Simon Maillard, who was the “Apostle to the Micmacs”. Dickason states, “He did not expect more than fifty years would elapse before the French colonists were so mixed with the Micmacs and Malecites that it would be impossible to distinguish them. Acadians appear to have been well on the way toward realizing the official goal of ‘one race’.”⁹⁶

4.7. Children of Mixed Parentage

Many children were born as a result of mixed marriages and other less formal unions. Mixed marriages occurred in all classes of society in the region, including in the most prominent French families in the colonies and were often formalized by the Catholic Church. The children from the marriages were baptized and given European names. These children became French in the historical record.

Dickason states,

Particularly in the seventeenth century, colonial policy encouraged French families to take in Amerindian children and raise them on their own”.⁹⁷ However, there is no way of realizing this from the historical record. “From the time of Charles de Saint-Etienne de La Tour, the elder’s first marriage to a Micmac in 1626, through Jean-Vincent d’Abadie de Saint-Castin’s union with a Penobscot in the 1670s, until after the deportation of 1755, there was always at least one Acadian family in most settlements where one partner, usually the woman, was an Indian. The census returns of 1671 and 1686 indicate five families where the woman is described as

⁹² H-4 Dickason, “From one Nation,” 19.

⁹³ “Métis in Atlantic Canada,” The Canadian Encyclopedia, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1SEC790216> (March 20, 2005).

⁹⁴ H-5 Olive Patricia Dickason, “Louisbourg and the Indians: a study in imperial race relations, 1713-1760,” in *Surgeons and surgery in Ile Royale* ed. Linda M. Hoad. (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, c1975), 11.

⁹⁵ H-4 Dickason, “From one Nation,” 23.

⁹⁶ H-4 *Ibid.*, 24.

⁹⁷ H-4 *Ibid.*, 23.

“sauvagesse,” out of a total of some 75 and 135 families respectively.⁹⁸

4.8. No Need for a Separate Culture

Many mixed-ancestry children were raised as Indian, as part of their mother’s culture. Mi’kmaq society was matrifocal and thus Indian mothers wanted their children raised in their communities. Historically, Indian women determined membership criteria for their communities and they would not have rules that would exclude their own children.⁹⁹ This is because Mi’kmaq social structure depended on the family. Often a community would be comprised of many families that were united by blood. Furthermore, many French and Acadian fathers of mixed-ancestry children were traders, explorers and may have left their children with their mother.¹⁰⁰

Andrew H. Clark, a Canadian geographer who contributed significantly to the emergence of historical geography in North America, has concluded,

Just how much intermarrying or interbreeding there was is uncertain ... It is likely that liaisons, on both sides of the blanket, continued throughout the Acadian period, chiefly between young Acadian men and Indian girls during the winter hunting period, and that some of the offspring many have been accepted in time into the Acadian communities, but most ‘metis’ children of the first generation were brought up in their mother's homes as Indians.¹⁰¹

Similarly, according to the *Canadian Encyclopedia*,

Those among the Maliseet were known as “Malouidit” because so many of their fathers came from St. Malo on the Brittany coast of France. In Acadia, many French took native wives, and some communities became largely mixed. The *capitaines des sauvages* who served the French governors as interpreters, intermediaries and distributors of annual presents to the native people were commonly of mixed parentage.¹⁰²

Although, French colonial policy may have encouraged adopting Indian children and raising mixed-ancestry children in French, this was not what always (or most often) happened. According to Clark,

Gradually [the Mi’kmaq] came to a position of mutual interdependence

⁹⁸ “The Acadians,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biographies* 4 (1771-1800), xvii.

⁹⁹ Oral history provided by Betty Ann Lavallée, Chief of NBAPC, Oct. 2004.

¹⁰⁰ Clark, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760*, 377.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* See also Prins, *The Micmac*, 68.

¹⁰² H-14 “Metis in Atlantic Canada,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com Note: There are no original sources listed in the encyclopedia.

with the French and in places...interbred with them to produce small 'metis' populations. However, although some Micmac contributions to the subsequent Acadian gene pool must thus have taken place, the mixed-blood offspring generally were raised as Micmac by their (almost exclusively) Indian mothers.¹⁰³

Settlers in Acadia in the 1600s may have been so intermixed with the Indians that it was hard to tell them apart, and those who were of mixed-ancestry appear not to have created a separated cultural identity. According to Duke Red Bird, "in the East, the half-breed tended to go "native" or pass for "white". It was only in the West that the "Bois Brule" offered a third choice to the cultures around him".¹⁰⁴ Dickason, describes racial intermixing "as an instrument of empire". She goes on to state that, "Jacques Rousseau, eminent Quebec biologist, claimed in 1970 that 40% of French Canadians could find at least one Amerindian in their family trees. What did not occur on either coast or in the St. Lawrence valley was the emergence of a clearly defined sense of separate identity".¹⁰⁵

Dickason claims that,

For a century and a half French and Amerindians lived and fought side by side in a symbiotic relationship that is without parallel in the colonial history of North America. A successful fur trade required cooperation on both parts. And in agriculture, the French used the tidal flats, which the Indians had little interest in. It was rarely a violent relationship. A common enemy [the English] in dangerously close proximity did much to encourage good relations between allies and blood relatives... It also did much to discourage the emergence of the 'metis' as a separate group. The tensions of protracted frontier warfare, lasting until the final defeat of the French in 1760, polarized the racial situation in Acadia even as it encouraged good relations. In other words, the children of mixed unions tended to identify with either the French or the Amerindians rather than consider themselves as a separate entity.¹⁰⁶

In contrast to Dickason's arguments of "one race", Dunn, a Métis activist, claims that Acadians of mixed-ancestry were "distinct". He argues that "[i]n the middle 1600s it was already clear that most of the Acadian families were of mixed blood. They were, even in their own time, distinguished both from the Micmacs and the immigrating French and later English settlers".¹⁰⁷ He goes on to suggest that a group of Acadians who were deported to Belle-Isle-en-Mer in France as having a distinctive cultural

¹⁰³ Clark, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760*, 68.

¹⁰⁴ Duke Redbird, *We are Métis* (Willowdale: Ontario Métis and Non Status Indian Ass., 1939), 4.

¹⁰⁵ H-4 Dickason, "From one Nation," 21.

¹⁰⁶ H-4 *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁰⁷ Martin F. Dunn, "Full Text of a Discussion Paper for the Métis Circle Special Consultation of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples March 1994," All My Relations – The Other Métis, www.othermetis.net/Papers/CircleTxt/CrcPrt2.html#Introduction (March 20, 2005).

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identity.¹⁰⁸ Dunn states that the expulsion of the Acadians has been carefully recorded, but the role of métissage (intermingling) has been down played by historians on all sides.¹⁰⁹

4.9. The Discouragement of Mixed Marriages

Intermarriage was not always encouraged, however. According to Clark,

Resort to Indian women must have been common enough among the fur traders but it never became an accepted or established practice in the organized settlements, in good part because of the influence of the priests. ... There is no doubt that the blending of French and Micmac genes did get underway in the period [early to mid 1600s] and that this process continued, clandestinely at least, through the remaining Acadian residence, somewhat diluting the “genetic purity” of both Acadian and Indian groups.¹¹⁰

Cooney also refers to the arrival of French emigrants in “the year 1672, or 1673... when it is said that some French families from St. Maloes arrived here, and settled on the present site of Baie des Vents Village”.¹¹¹ Oral history claims that fishermen from St. Maloes intermarried with Maliseet girls.

By the time a century has passed, the policy of favouring intermarriage had been reversed and Maurepas, the French Minister of Marine, was scolding missionaries in the 1730s who not only permitted such marriages too easily, but actively encouraged them. Moreover, the missionaries were doing so without the permission of post commandants, which was against regulations. Observing the children of such marriages were even more libertine than the Indians themselves, Maurepas said the missionaries “doivent pas se porte si légèrement à marier des françois avec des femme sauvages”.¹¹² “Intermarriage and assimilation had not worked, at least from the official point of view, because what the authorities had in mind was to turn the Indians into Frenchmen. What happened was that Indians remained Indians (with perhaps some vices added) and Frenchmen showed a tendency to take up an Indian way of life.”¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ There is a lack of primary source documents regarding Dunn's distinctiveness argument in the Maritime region. Nor were we able to find primary source documents to support Dunn's claims. Dunn does not footnote his work. He does provide a list of end notes but he does not offer any specific primary sources for this claim. See his website www.theothermetis.net for his list of endnotes. Nonetheless, this is an interesting and potentially significant claim. It is valuable to raise, particularly due to the fact that primary source information is lacking for the study region. This may be a direction for future research.

¹¹⁰ Clark, *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760*, 68.

¹¹¹ H-3 Cooney, *A Compendious History*, 31.

¹¹² Translation: The missionaries should not marry French men with savage Indians in such a carefree manner. See H-5 Dickason, “Louisbourg and the Indians.”

¹¹³ H-5 Dickason, “Louisbourg and the Indians,” 12.

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According to Dickason,

The silence as well as the ambiguity of the record presents a problem for the historian. If, on the other hand, it is unrealistic to deny that racial mixing occurred with the French communities (particularly Acadia) on the ground that it was so seldom recorded as such, on the other hand it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine just how prevalent it was. The rarity of recognizably recorded intermarriages could be related to the probability that many of them took place 'à la façon du pays' – that is according to the Amerindian way; apparently this sometimes happened even among those who more or less lived in the French colony.¹¹⁴

She also argues that these unions would have been disapproved at high up levels for not being Christian. Missionaries tried to combat this by not opposing such marriages, but by baptizing Indian brides, performing Christian wedding ceremonies and baptizing their children.¹¹⁵

4.10. Mi'kmaq Social Structure during Acadian Times

Prins suggests that in the 17th century the Mi'kmaq were not interested in 'racial' issues. Organized in bands throughout the region, they attached great importance on social ties of kinship and friendship, and to build a widespread social network, they frequently relied on marriage exchanges with neighbouring groups. He also suggests that the Mi'kmaq would be quite aware that the early French settlements would have "recognized the plight of their neighbours" and might have facilitated marriage between the two groups.¹¹⁶

In Nicolas Denys' book of 1672, he describes the lifestyle and ways of the Indians in the 17th century. He describes how sailors gave Indians, both males and female, young and old, brandy and other types of alcohol. The male Indians would eventually get quite violent and fight with each other. Many of the women would escape into the woods to wait it out. But they, too, would drink a lot. Denys states:

The women and the older girls also drink much but by stealth, and they go to hide themselves in the woods for that purpose. The sailors know well the rendez vous. It is those who furnish the brandy, and they bring then into so favourable a condition that they can do with them everything they will. All these frequentations of the ships have entirely ruined them, and they care no longer for Religion. They blaspheme the name of God, are thieves and cheats, and have no longer their former purity, neither woman nor girl, at least those who drink. It is no longer a crime for a girl to bear children; indeed she is earlier married thereby, because there is assurance that she is not sterile. He who marries her

¹¹⁴ H-4 Dickason, "From one Nation," 22-23.

¹¹⁵ H-4 *Ibid.*, 23.

¹¹⁶ Prins, *The Micmac*, 67.

takes her children. They do not divorce their wives now as they did formerly, and they have not so many, not being good hunters. This is because of their drunkenness and because the animals are not so abundant.¹¹⁷

The children of mixed marriages would often stay with their mothers and identify with her culture.¹¹⁸

5. Chapter Five – The 18th Century

5.1. Settlement in the Early 1700s

According to Cooney, “[a]bout the year 1702, we find the French pretty thickly established on different parts of the Miramichi, as well as along the Gulf shore towards Miscou; and about the entrance of the Richibucto.”¹¹⁹ He goes on to state that by the early 18th century “the ‘French’ appear to have cultivated an intimacy with the ‘Indians,’ whom they partially instructed in the rudiments of Christianity.”¹²⁰ They, moreover, secured the sympathies of the Indians by intermarriages, and this alliance, strengthened by a similarity of religion, secured them in the peaceable possession of the country.¹²¹

The first settlements in what would later become New Brunswick grew along the Saint John, Miramichi and Restigouche rivers and the Baie de Chaleur.¹²² Rivers and streams were used as the principal highways because the forests of the province were so thick. In 1710, the population of Acadia was over 4000.¹²³

5.2. Policies Towards Mixed Marriages in the 1700s

British policies in the 1720s, as evidenced through several letters between the Council of Trade and Plantations and others (such as the King, Lords, and Justices), encouraged intermarriage between Her Majesty’s subjects and Indians, in order to strengthen the British position in Acadia.¹²⁴

¹¹⁷ Nicolas Denys, *Concerning the Ways of Indians* (Paris: (publisher unknown), 1672).

¹¹⁸ This idea was supported by the current Chief of the New Brunswick Aboriginal People’s Council, Betty Ann Lavallée. She indicated that this was the Mi’kmaq way. Mi’kmaq villages would even adopt orphaned European children and raise them as their own.

¹¹⁹ H-3 Cooney, *A Compendious History*, 31. Note: Cooney’s work is very old and he does not supply his sources.

¹²⁰ H-3 *Ibid.*

¹²¹ H-3 *Ibid.*

¹²² H-18 Smith, *The Mosaic Province of New Brunswick*, 5.

¹²³ H-10 Cedric Lorne Haines, “The Acadian Settlement of Northeastern New Brunswick: 1755-1826,” *Unpublished Masters Thesis* (Fredericton: UNB, 1979), 1.

¹²⁴ G-2 Letter to the Lords Justices from the Council of Trade & Plantations at Whitehall, June 19, 1719, “Colonial Papers,” *Calendar* 3, no.128; G-1 Letter to the King from Council of Trade & Plantations at Whitehall, September 8, 1721, “Colonial Papers,” *Calendar* 32: 436-443.

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According to Dickason, France was more concerned with spiritual conformity of the Indians than of race. Dickason states that in New France there was the persistent belief that Amerindians were really white, turning brown because of certain practices. Consequently, France saw its immediate problem with Amerindians as one of evangelization, to pave the way for assimilation, which contributed considerably to the great missionary drive in the 17th century.¹²⁵

The French, moved by humanitarian impulses, at first sought the answer in assimilation. Intermarriage had occurred most frequently in Acadia during the seventeenth century, and at one point seemed to be well on its way toward realizing Champlain's dreams of a new race. Maillard was led to observe in 1753, 'Je ne donne pas plus de cinquante ans à ceux-cy aux marichites pour qu'on les voye tellement confondus avec les Français colon, qu'il ne sera presque plus possible de les distinguer'.¹²⁶

American anthropologist Prins concludes a discussion of Mi'kmaq-Acadian intermarriages by noting that

Given the social interaction between Mi'kmaq communities and French settlers in Acadia, both of which were relatively small in size, the result of this early miscegenation process was that few of the local Mi'kmaq and French Acadians belonging to long-established regional families would have been "full-blooded" by the mid-1700s.¹²⁷

However, beginning in 1713 and continuing for 60 years, the British Government offered incentives for colonial settlers to marry Indian people. Jennifer Reid has found in her research that in 1719, for instance, the British Governor instructed Governor Richard Philips of Nova Scotia to encourage mixed marriages. The instructions read:

And as a further mark of His Majesty's good will to the said Indian Nations, you shall give all possible encouragement to intermarriages between His Majesty's subjects and them for which purpose you are to declare in his Majesty's name, that His Majesty will bestow on every white man being one of His Subjects, who shall marry an Indian woman, native and inhabitant of Nova Scotia [which also included present-day New Brunswick], a free gift of the sum of 10 pounds sterling; and 50 acres of land, free of quit rent for the space of twenty years, and the like on any white women being His Majesty's subject who shall marry an Indian man, native and inhabitant of Nova Scotia, as aforesaid.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ H-4 Dickason, "From one Nation," 22.

¹²⁶ H-5 Dickason, "Louisbourg and the Indians," 165-166. This translates to: "I expect that within fifty years, the Malecites will be so tangled with the French settlers that it will be nearly impossible to tell them apart."

¹²⁷ Prins, *The Micmac*, 68.

¹²⁸ Jennifer Reid, *Myth, Symbol and Colonial Encounter. British and Mi'kmaq in Acadia, 1700-1867* (Ottawa:

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No one ever claimed any of the bonuses, and it appears that the British colonials were very much opposed to such marriages.¹²⁹

5.3. French-English Conflicts

As stated in the last chapter, the French and British both laid claim to North America during the period before 1763. England settled its colonists in New England along the eastern seaboard and in Newfoundland, while the French claimed Acadia and Quebec. Not surprisingly, European conflicts spilled over into the New World, and England and France were frequently at war in North America. Possession of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, went back and forth between France and England during the 17th century.

5.3.1. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713

Nova Scotia became a British colony in 1713.¹³⁰ In that year, England and France signed the Treaty of Utrecht to end eleven years of war. Under the terms of the Treaty, France conceded all right of settlement in Newfoundland, but retained exclusive fishing rights along the northern parts of the island. Further, France kept control of Cape Breton and Ile Saint Jean (Prince Edward Island), but surrendered Acadie, or Nova Scotia, in its entirety according to its “ancient boundaries”. The two European countries continued to argue over whether the “ancient boundaries” of Acadia/Nova Scotia included only peninsular Nova Scotia and the isthmus or also the areas later known as New Brunswick.¹³¹

Although the English established a measure of control over much of the Atlantic Region after 1713, there was an uneasy relationship between the English settlers (the few that there were), and both the soldiers and the Mi'kmaq people. It was long assumed by many historians, notably Stephen E. Paterson, that a series of treaties signed with the Mi'kmaq after 1726 signified European dominance in the region. Patterson has argued that when French power collapsed in Nova Scotia, the political autonomy of the Mi'kmaq was severely weakened. The Peace and Friendship Treaties that were signed between the British and the Mi'kmaq, he has argued, came as a result of the decline of Mi'kmaq power in the region.¹³² With the decline of the French, the Mi'kmaq saw their power and influence

University of Ottawa Press, 1995), 61.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Treaty of Utrecht. A printed version of the full text of this Treaty can be found on pages 177 - 239 of volume 1 of *Major Peace Treaties of Modern History, 1648-1967*, edited by Fred L. Israel (New York: Chelsea House, 1967).

¹³¹ See, John Reid, “1686-1720: Imperial Intrusions,” cited in Phillip Buckner and John Reid, eds, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 94. To support their argument they quote from “Board of Trade to Secretary St John, 5 Apr. 1712,” Public records office, Colonial Office 195/5, 267-269; Treaty of Peace and Friendship between France and Great Britain, 11 Apr. 1713, in Clive Parry, ed., *The Consolidated Treaty Series*, 27 (Dobbes Ferry, 1969), 485.

¹³² *The Mi'kmaq Treaty Handbook*, (Sydney & Truro: Native and Communications Society of Nova Scotia, 1987). Many of these treaties are available on websites. See “English Royal Proclamation of 1673,” <http://www.kstrom.net/isk/maps/royalproc.html> (April 21, 2005) and “Aboriginals: Treaties and Relationships,”

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fade away as the British grew in strength and influence. By 1760, the Mi'kmaq had little choice but to accept British control and British sovereignty over the region.¹³³ However, this interpretation has recently been challenged, most notably by William Wicken. His interpretations are presented below in Section 5.5.

Unlike the French who adjusted to the presence of Mi'kmaq and often intermarried with them, the British were aloof and suspicious of the Indians because of their connections with the French. In the early decades of British rule of Nova Scotia, the British were preoccupied with the continued influence of the French missionaries who lived among the Indians of Nova Scotia. Following the cession of Acadia to the British Crown, the British encouraged the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet to abandon their trade with the Acadians, renounce their Catholic religion, and establish closer ties with the British. The Mi'kmaq were unwilling to do so, but they realized that there were certain benefits of protection and resources to be had from the British garrisons even if the fortifications had been erected on their land.¹³⁴

The French wished to maintain contacts with the Mi'kmaq largely because French officials recognized the importance of the Indians to their military strategy. In fact, the French encouraged the Mi'kmaq to move to Ile Royale (Cape Breton) and even though they established a religious mission at Antigonish in 1715, few Mi'kmaq relocated there. While the missionaries exerted little control over the Indians, the missionaries were often used by government officials as conduits through which presents could be provided to the Mi'kmaq. Some British officials also attempted to use diplomacy to win the goodwill of the Indians but their attempts to do so received less than an enthusiastic response from London.¹³⁵

During the summer of 1715, the Mi'kmaq seized a number of fishing vessels from Massachusetts. Peter Capon, the commissary to the garrison at Annapolis Royal, was despatched to investigate the problem. He held meetings with Mi'kmaq leaders at Merliqueche (later named Lunenburg), Port Maltais (Port Medway) and Pubnico. The Mi'kmaq appeared conciliatory and proposed negotiations with the British Crown over trade and matters. The British saw no urgency as the Mi'kmaq had been weakened by declining population and by the economic disruption precipitated by the declining fur trade.¹³⁶

Meanwhile, Richard Phillips, the governor of Nova Scotia from 1717 to 1749, realized that good

Canada in the Making, http://www.canadiana.org/citm/themes/aboriginals/aboriginals2_e.html (April 21, 2005).

Note: This website was built around the Government Documents collection of the "Early Canadiana Online" collection. It has been reviewed and approved by chief historical consultant, Dr. Jean-Claude Robert.

¹³³ See particularly, Stephen E. Patterson, "1744-1763: Colonial Wars and Aboriginal Peoples", cited in Buckner and Reid, eds., *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 125-55.

¹³⁴ When France ceded Acadia to the British in 1713, Britain saw the Treaty of Utrecht as giving it clear sovereign title to the colony. Britain believed that because France had settled Acadia and made it a French possession, France had extinguished aboriginal title so it did not have to repeat the process. Once France ceded the land to Britain, sovereignty passed to the British. Moreover, both Britain and France as Christian powers considered their claims to sovereignty superior to those of non-Christian people. For a fuller discussion of these matters, see Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada First Nations*, 108-110.

¹³⁵ H-5 Dickason, "Louisbourg and the Indians," 66-69; and Dickason, *Canada First Nations*, 1117-1118.

¹³⁶ Buckner and Reid, eds., *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 101.

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relations with the Indians were necessary for peace, but the British simply did not have the diplomatic success that the French had enjoyed with them. The French cultivated good-will with the Indians, mostly by using the French and Catholic missionaries, but the British did not have such diplomatic skills. Even though the British met with the Abenakis at Portsmouth, New Hampshire in 1713 to sign a Treaty of peace, English colonists simply moved into Indian lands, undermining any lasting value the Treaty might have brought.¹³⁷ Later, Phillips offered gifts (paid for out of his own pocket) to the Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, in what would become New Brunswick, in an attempt to win a lasting peace. London was largely uninterested, even though Philips managed to win a small concession of friendship from Maliseet leaders in the Saint John River in the summer of 1720, when they promised that "as long as our Great King Louis of France is at peace, we shall be also".¹³⁸ The French had combined a program of trade, religious conversion, and acculturation to build an alliance network with the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet that enticed them to co-operate with the French.

5.3.2. British-Indian Treaties and Dummer's War

The history of Treaty making in Nova Scotia between the British and the Mi'kmaq began in the 1720s. This was a period of hostility between these groups.¹³⁹ The first Treaty between the British in Nova Scotia and the Mi'kmaq was entered into as a result of talks in 1725 and 1726.¹⁴⁰

By the early 1720s, there were never more than a handful of Mi'kmaq families on Ile Royale, and never more than 4000 on mainland Nova Scotia between 1720 and 1740.¹⁴¹ The Indian people endeavored to protect their land against incursions from the larger European population of nearly 15,000. In 1722, many Mi'kmaq bands joined forces with some Abenakis to launch a major offensive against New England fishermen and traders and captured some 40 fishing and trading vessels between Cape Sable and Canso. In response, the Massachusetts General Court dispatched hundreds of troops to the area to establish British authority and recover the New England vessels. Governor Phillips rallied the Massachusetts fishermen to protect British interests.¹⁴²

The resulting conflict, known as Dummer's or Lowell's War, continued until August 1726, when a formal Peace Treaty was agreed upon. One of the clauses of the Treaty stipulated that delegates

... from the tribes of Penobscott, Naridgwalk, St. John, Cape Sable,
and other tribes inhabiting within his majesty's territories of Nova

¹³⁷ H-5 Dickason, "Louisbourg and the Indians," 66-70.

¹³⁸ Quoted in Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 100.

¹³⁹ "Aboriginals: Treaties and Relations," Canada in the Making, http://www.canadiana.org/citm/themes/aboriginals/aboriginals2_e.html#peace. (April 21, 2004). Note: This website was built around the Government Documents collection of the "Early Canadiana Online" collection. It has been reviewed and approved by chief historical consultant, Dr. Jean-Claude Robert.

¹⁴⁰ See Key Document C-1 for the Treaty of June 4, 1726.

¹⁴¹ See Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists*, 32-33. Stephen Patterson suggests that the number of natives was closer to 3,000. The missionary Abbé Jean-Louis Loutre who travelled widely from Ile Royale to visit Mi'kmaq noted that they "lived in scattered communities widely separated from each other." Quoted in Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 132.

¹⁴² Quoted in Murdoch Beamish, 428 "Articles of Submission."

Scotia or Acadia, and New England ... [agree to] ... acknowledge his said majestie King George's Jurisdiction and Dominion over the territories of said province of Nova Scotia.¹⁴³

5.3.3. The Treaty of 1749

The founding of Halifax in the Mi'kmaq territory called Segepengatig marked a new direction for the British in Nova Scotia that would have a profound impact on the Indians. Some Indians were openly hostile to the British initiative. When Governor Edward Cornwallis, an experienced army officer, arrived in Halifax in June 1749 with 2,500 settlers to begin the settlement of Nova Scotia, he realized that peace with the colony's Indians was absolutely necessary.¹⁴⁴

In the summer of 1749, representatives of the Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, and a single band of Mi'kmaq from Chignecto visited the Governor in Halifax and expressed a desire for peace, given that the French and English had signed a Peace Treaty. The two sides agreed to renew the earlier Treaty of 1725 that was drafted in Boston two decades before what would become known as the Treaty of 1749. Other Maliseet and Passamaquoddy leaders later ratified the Treaty at a meeting in the summer at the mouth of the St. John River.¹⁴⁵

Peace was difficult, however. The immigrants who were brought to Nova Scotia required land that had been the hunting grounds of the Mi'kmaq, and the Mi'kmaq responded with a petition to the British Crown. When they gathered at Port Toulouse in Ile Royale (Cape Breton) for the annual distribution of Louis XV's "presents"¹⁴⁶ in September 1749, they had the missionary Abbé Pierre Maillard, the founder of the Holy Family Mission on Chapel Island, draw up a formal declaration demanding the abandonment of Halifax. This group of Mi'kmaq leaders from Cape Breton and Antigonish informed Cornwallis that they would "make neither alliance or peace" while the British were occupying Mi'kmaq lands.¹⁴⁷

Around this time, the French officials at Louisbourg instructed Le Loutre to move his mission from Shubenacadie to Beauséjour and to take with him the Indians from Chigabekakady and the other tribes dependent on it as far away as Cape Sable, as they were too near Halifax. It is difficult to determine how many followed him, but from his account it appears that he had a large following that decided to

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Stephen E. Patterson, "1744-1763: Colonial Wars and Aboriginal Peoples," cited in Buckner and Reid, eds., *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 127-8; Public Archives of Nova Scotia, RG1, vol 186, Council Minutes, 13-14 Aug. 1749.

¹⁴⁵ Buckner and Reid, eds., *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 127-129.

¹⁴⁶ The French initiated an annual gift-giving ceremony with Indians as one of the ways to maintain their allegiance.

¹⁴⁷ See Public Archives of Nova Scotia, RG1 vol. 186, Council Minutes, 13-14 Aug. 1749; and Micheline D. Johnson, "Pierre Maillard," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 3, 415-419.

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oppose the British invasion of Acadie.¹⁴⁸ Yet, it should be understood that the Mi'kmaq were not mere pawns of the French, and they clearly had interests and goals of their own that often coincided with those of the French. One of their primary concerns was the increasing number of European colonists that were settling on more and more of their land.¹⁴⁹

5.3.4. The "Anglo-Micmac War"

From 1749, through to the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, the British believed that they were at war with the Mi'kmaq. They called this the "Indian War" or the "Anglo-Micmac War". The Mi'kmaq once again attacked a number of fishing and trading vessels, captured several prisoners, and killed workers at a sawmill near Halifax. Cornwallis was angry that peace did not come after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ended the War of the Austrian Succession in 1748, and issued the proclamation of 1749 calling on the British settlers to "Destroy the savage commonly known as the Micmacs wherever they are found."¹⁵⁰ The British quickly came to believe that despite the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French were using the Mi'kmaq and other Indian allies to harass the British in Nova Scotia. Because there had been no general Treaty with the Mi'kmaq in 1749, the British considered themselves still at war with the Mi'kmaq. Several attempts to create a peace throughout the 1750s failed and the conflict continued until 1760, when a series of treaties with various Mi'kmaq groups finally brought peace.¹⁵¹

5.3.5. Peace and Friendship Treaties¹⁵²

There was also hope for peace in 1751. The New England governments held an annual conference with the Abenaki in Maine, and Paul Mascarene, a French-speaking Huguenot who had negotiated the first Treaty with the Nova Scotia Indians in 1725, represented Nova Scotia. Not all of the Indian groups were represented but one of the eight Maliseets from present-day New Brunswick that attended promised that he would try and establish a peace between the British and the Mi'kmaq. Mascarene reported to Cornwallis that Chief Monsarrett "promised to go to Halifax with some deputies from his tribe to treat for peace with Your Excellency and to bring the Micquemques in, and in the meantime to cease all hostilities."¹⁵³ In an attempt to pave the way for peace, Cornwallis repealed his earlier proclamation against the Mi'kmaq just as he was leaving the colony as governor.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ John Clarence Webster, *The Career of the Abbé Le Loutre in Nova Scotia with a Translation of his Autobiography* (Shediac, 1933), 33-42.

¹⁴⁹ Stephen E. Patterson, "1744-1763: Colonial Wars and Aboriginal Peoples," cited in Buckner and Reid, eds., *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 129-30, and 199; Public Archives of Nova Scotia, RG1, vol 186, Council Minutes, 18 Sept. 1749; and PRO, CO217/9, 117-118, Council Minutes, 102 Oct. 1749. It was commonly believed that the French priest Abbé Le Loutre was largely responsible for encouraging the Mi'kmaq. Le Loutre had written to the minister of marine in France, informing him of his intention to persuade the natives to send word to the English that they (Mi'kmaq) will not permit new settlements to be made in Acadia. See Gérard Finn, "Jean-Louis Le Loutre," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, IV, 455.

¹⁵⁰ Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 129.

¹⁵¹ See William Daugherty, *Maritime Indian Treaties in Perspectives* (Ottawa: INAC, 1983) for more information.

¹⁵² For information on Peace and Friendship Treaties see: *The Mi'kmaq Treaty Handbook*, (Sydney & Truro: Native and Communications Society of Nova Scotia, 1987).

¹⁵³ Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 133-134.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

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"After some discussions in the autumn [of 1752], a Treaty of Peace and Friendship was entered into by the British with the Shubenacadie Mi'kmaq on November 22, 1752."¹⁵⁵ By the mid 1750s, the Acadians of Nova Scotia were nearing 15,000. England and France were not at war after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. But there was still dispute over the border of Nova Scotia.¹⁵⁶

Peregrine Thomas Hopson arrived in Halifax as governor when the expectation for peace was high. He sought out Mi'kmaq leaders with whom he hoped to negotiate a lasting Treaty. Encouraged by generous gifts, Jean-Baptiste Cope, Chief of a small band on the eastern shore of Nova Scotia, came to Halifax to meet Governor Hopson in September 1752. Although he spoke only for the 90 members of his band, Cope promised to sign a Treaty and work to bring other Chiefs to the process as well.¹⁵⁷ He failed in the latter task, but in November 1752 several members of his band joined him in Halifax to witness the signing of a Treaty with Governor Hopson. The two sides signed what would become the Treaty of 1752. Cope promised peace with the British which, in turn, promised annual gifts. Cope renewed the articles of submission and agreement made in earlier treaties in Boston and Annapolis which had promised the Mi'kmaq that they could continue to hunt, fish, and plant on their planting lands and that they would not be molested in any of their lawful activities. It stated explicitly that "If you [Mi'kmaq] shal think fit to settle your wives and children upon the River Shubenacadie no person shall hinder it not meddle with the lands where you are."¹⁵⁸ The Treaty acknowledged the Mi'kmaq right to "free liberty of Hunting and Fishing as usual" but the British dismissed Cope's demand that "the Indian should be paid for the land the English had settled upon in this country."¹⁵⁹ The Governor hoped that the Treaty would be a model for all other Mi'kmaq people (of which there were twelve to fifteen bands), and he had a proclamation printed and widely distributed noting that the "Chibenaccadie [Shubenacadie] Tribe of Mick Mack Indians, Inhabiting the Eastern Coast of this Province had signed a Treaty with the Crown. However, most of the remaining Mi'kmaq rejected Cope's initiative."¹⁶⁰ Even though Glaude Gisigash, described as "an Indian who stiles himself Governor of La Heve", approached Halifax seeking similar terms, the hostilities continued between the Mi'kmaq and the British, and Hopson acknowledged in his official correspondence that his peace initiative had failed.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁵ See Key Document C-2 for a copy of the original 1752 Peace and Friendship Treaty.

¹⁵⁶ See, John Reid, "1686-1720: Imperial Intrusions," cited in Buckner and Reid, eds., *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 94. To support their argument they quote from 'Board of Trade to Secretary St John, 5 Apr. 1712, Public records office, Colonial Office 195/5, 267-9; Treaty of Peace and Friendship between France and Great Britain, 11 Apr. 1713, in Clive Parry, ed., *The Consolidated Treaty Series*, 27 (Dobbes Ferry, 1969), 485.

¹⁵⁷ In 1708, French officials completed a census of all aboriginals in the Acadia. Only one Mi'kmaq location is identified on the Eastern Shore and that was a Musquodoboit where there were 161 men, women and children. See William Ayers Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. A copy of this material is available on microfilm from the National Archives of Canada, MG18 F18.

¹⁵⁸ Thomas B. Atkins, ed., *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia*. (Halifax, 1869), 671, Council Minutes, Halifax 14 Sept. 1752.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ Micheline D. Johnson, "Jean-Baptiste Cope," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 3, 136-7; PRO, CO217/40, 229; PANS, RG1, vol 186, Council Minutes, 14 Sept. 1752; and Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 134-135.

¹⁶¹ See NAC, Nova Scotia A 17:129-132; Nova Scotia B1:53-55 cited in Dickason, *Canada's First Nations*, 159-61.

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German and Swiss Protestants and others had been lured to the colony with the promise of free land and a one-way ticket from the British government. Yet, peace was crucial with the Indians if Hopson hoped to fulfill his mission of settling Nova Scotia. The government had surveyed the area around Musquodoboit Harbour in 1752, but abandoned it for fear of Mi'kmaq reprisals. They chose instead a location on the south shore a place the Mi'kmaq and French called Mirligueche; the British renamed it Lunenburg. Yet, Hopson received warning from a small fort at Pisiquid [Windsor] that the 300 Indians in the vicinity were prepared "to oppose the Settlement of Merlegash and intended to begin their March there as soon as they have information when the Settlers are to Sail".¹⁶² By 1753, there were signs that some of the Mi'kmaq had accepted the settlement. In November, two emissaries from the Cape Sable Mi'kmaq band of 60 persons on the southshore presented a message of peace to the British commander at Lunenburg en route to Halifax where they assured Governor Charles Lawrence that they had not taken part in the acts of hostility toward the settlers. To maintain the relationship, Lawrence provided the band with winter provisions. Lawrence was very sceptical when the French and Catholic missionary Le Loutre acted as an intermediary for a group of about 400 Mi'kmaq from their summer encampment at Baie Verte (south of the study region), one of the largest concentrations of Indian people in the region at the time, when they made a proposal "toward establishing a General and Lasting Peace".¹⁶³

What the Mi'kmaq proposed in the letter that Le Loutre had drafted for them did not fit with British plans for the colony. The proposal would have set a substantial portion of Nova Scotia aside as Mi'kmaq territory; they proposed that the British recognize the territory from the isthmus to Minas, then to Cobequid and Shubenacadie (which, incidentally, included Le Loutre's old mission), across to Musquodoboit, then along the eastern shore to Canso, and finally through the strait along the north shore and back to Baie Verte. While this proposal would have created a buffer Indian state between British Nova Scotia and French Acadia, the Mi'kmaq at Baie Verte were becoming increasingly concerned about reports of the British settlers expanding into their former hunting grounds. Not surprisingly, given that Le Loutre had written the letter, Lawrence and his Council rejected the proposal as "too insolent and absurd to be answered"; they did insist, however, that if the Mi'kmaq came to Halifax they would be "treated with on reasonable conditions".¹⁶⁴

In 1755, the Mi'kmaq responded and despatched to Halifax Paul Laurent, a Mi'kmaq who had learned English while living in captivity in Boston. He informed Governor Lawrence that he had no authority to negotiate a Treaty, but peace between the Mi'kmaq and the British depended upon a land grant similar to that which had been requested in Le Loutre's letter. He asked Council for a written reply indicating the Quantity of Land that they would allow them, if they thought what was required was too much. The Council reiterated its earlier claim that the original request was 'unreasonable,' but it suggested that it was willing to set aside land "for your hunting, fishing, etc., as shall be abundantly

¹⁶² Winthrop Pickard Bell, *The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1961), 315, 397-475.

¹⁶³ Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 138-139; and PANS, RG1, vol 187, Council Minutes, 16 Nov. 1753; and Thomas Beamish Akins, ed., *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1869), William Cotterell to Captain Hamilton, 3 June 1754, 210.

¹⁶⁴ Council Minutes, 9 Sept. 1954 PANS, RG1, vol 187; and Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 139-40.

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sufficient for you and what we make no doubt you, yourselves, will like and approve.”¹⁶⁵ In fact, Lawrence and the Council extended the same offer to all “the different tribes of the Mickmack Indians,”¹⁶⁶ assuring them that the Crown was willing to set aside land for them provided that all the Mi’kmaq Chiefs agreed to a general peace Treaty.¹⁶⁷ However, before any progress could be made toward peace, the British and French clashed in the Appalachian Valley, launching another bitter war in North America. Once again, the Mi’kmaq sided with their traditional allies, the French.¹⁶⁸

5.3.6. The Seven Years War, the Acadian Expulsion, and Indian Scalping

This outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and France marked the beginning of the Seven Years’ War that would see France surrender nearly all of its claims to North America. The war was marked by the Acadian Deportation starting in 1755.¹⁶⁹

The British attacked Fort Beauséjour and, after a siege, the French surrendered their Fort in June 1755.¹⁷⁰ In July 1755, Acadian emissaries were called to Halifax. Once again, demands were made that they take the Oath of Allegiance or suffer the consequences. “Acadian adherence to the traditional position of refusing to take the oath of allegiance unless exemption from military services was granted precipitated a decision, taken later that same month, to remove them from Nova Scotia and disperse them among other British colonies.”¹⁷¹ The fall of Louisbourg and the destruction of all the remaining forts and outposts in Acadia and Isle St. Jean brought an end to the French presence in the region.¹⁷²

The Acadian deportation did not dampen the Indians’ determination to drive the British from Nova Scotia. The Mi’kmaq and Maliseet warriors waged a spirited and effective campaign that prompted Governor Lawrence to invoke a new proclamation in 1756 calling for the destruction of Indians in the colony.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁵ Micheline D. Johnson, “Paul Laurent,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 3, 358-9; and PANS, RG1, vol 187, Council Minutes, 12-13 Feb. 1755.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Naomi E.S. Griffiths, *The Context of Acadian History, 1686-1784* (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 62-94.

¹⁷⁰ “Fort Beauséjour National Historic Site of Canada”, Parks Canada, http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/nb/beausejour/natcul/index_e.asp (April 21, 2004).

¹⁷¹ H-10 Haines, “The Acadian Settlement,” 2.

¹⁷² B.A. Balcom, “The Siege of 1758,” The Fortress of Louisbourg, <http://www.louisbourg.ca/fort/siege1758.htm> (April 21, 2004).

¹⁷³ PANS, RG1, vol 187, Council Minutes 14 May 1756; PRO, CO217/16, 14 and 25 May 1756; and Stephen E. Patterson, “1744-1763: Colonial Wars and Aboriginal Peoples,” in Phillip Buckner and John Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation* (Toronto and Fredericton, University of Toronto Press), 149-58. When Cornwallis declared “war” on the Mi’kmaq in 1749, he avoided mentioning the Maliseet as he hoped that the Treaty of 1749 with them would hold. However, the British soon came to realize the Maliseet were, in fact, allied with the French as well. See, Stephen E. Patterson, “1744-1763: Colonial Wars and Aboriginal Peoples,” in Phillip Buckner and John Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 130.

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Lawrence's 1756 proclamation noted "the Indians have of late, in a most treacherous and cruel manner killed and carried away divers of his Majesty's Subjects in different areas of the Province" and demanded the officers and subjects of the British Crown in Nova Scotia "to annoy, distress, take and destroy the Indians inhabiting different parts of this province, wherever they are found".¹⁷⁴ He offered a reward for prisoners and scalps.¹⁷⁵ Clearly, the British had abandoned their policy of Treaty-making with the Indians, at least until they held the upper hand in the struggle. The British were also intent on eliminating the French from North America. As just one indication of that policy, General Jeffrey and Lord Amherst led an enormous British fleet with some 13,000 soldiers to Louisbourg in early June 1758. With a few weeks, on 27 July, Governor Augustin Boschenry de Drucour surrendered Louisbourg, which the British leveled to the ground. Before the inevitable capitulation, the Indians fled the fortress and were largely left to fend for themselves.¹⁷⁶

At the same time that the English were expelling the Acadians, they were also ordering scalping practices against anyone with any Indian blood. In an article by local historian Dudley LeBlanc, scalping practices of the English are examined. In a proclamation dated May 14, 1756, Governor Lawrence promised rewards for male and female Indian scalps. LeBlanc states that, "The proclamation had the effect of making Acadians pass for Indian scalps."¹⁷⁷ LeBlanc does not explicitly state why this occurred, except that the English felt that the Acadians were to blame for their problems with the Indians.¹⁷⁸ Perhaps, as well, some Acadians looked like Indians.

A minute of council written by Paul Mascarene, then Lieutenant-Governor, in January 1745, supplies another interesting contribution to the literature on this subject. According to Hannay,

This minute states that a letter was laid before the Council from the inhabitants of Grand Pré, River Canard, and Piziquid [in present-day Nova Scotia], stating that they had been informed that several armed vessels had arrived from New England, that they had pressed several of the inhabitants of Annapolis to serve as pilots to go against the Indians, and that they had heard they were coming up the Bay to do the same, and to destroy all the inhabitants that had any Indian blood in them and scalp them. They then went on to say, that as there were a great number of "Mulattoes" amongst them who had taken the oath, and who were allied to the greatest families, it had caused a terrible alarm. They therefore prayed for the protection of the Lieutenant-Governor. The minute then goes on to relate that the three inhabitants who were chosen by the three districts named to bring this letter were called in

¹⁷⁴ PANS, RG1, vol 187, Council Minutes 14 May 1756; PRO, CO217/16, 14 and 25 May 1756; and Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Provinces to Confederation*, 149-158.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ C.P. Stacey, "Jeffrey, 1st Baron Amherst," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 4, 20-7; and J.S. McLennan, 247-60.

¹⁷⁷ Dudley LeBlanc, "Acts of unbelievable cruelty to Acadians and Indians by the English," Ch. XXV in *The Acadian Miracle*. <http://personal.nbnet.nb.ca/legerpj/Cruelty.htm> (October 7, 2004).

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

and assured by Maserene of his protection, and told also that in regard to the notion that the inhabitants had amongst them that all who had any Indian blood in them were to be treated as enemies, it was a very great mistake, since if that had been the design of the New England armed vessels, it might very well be supposed that the inhabitants of this (Annapolis) river, many of whom have Indian blood in them, and some even who live within reach of the cannon, would not be suffered to live peaceably as they do. This minute would seem to show that it was rather a matter of notoriety that there were Acadians with Indian blood in them at Grand Pré, Piziquid, River Canard and Annapolis, in the year 1745.¹⁷⁹

Grand Pré, River Canard, and Piziquid are located south of the study region, in Nova Scotia. In 1745, the study region was also a part of Nova Scotia. This quote indicates that mixed-ancestry people were being hunted in the Maritime region in the mid 1700s.

Despite the fall of Louisbourg to the British, the Mi'kmaq and the Maliseet continued to wage war on the British. They resorted primarily to guerrilla warfare hitting targets in the Minas and Piziquid areas, as well as attacking British vessels along the coast from Halifax to Louisbourg. Once the Indians learned that Quebec had fallen to the British, they realized that France might be forced to surrender all claims to the region. Without the French to supply them with arms and ammunition, the Indians realized that they had to make peace with the British. The Maliseet were the first to capitulate to the British. At Fort Frederic at the mouth of the St John River in November 1759 the Maliseet encountered British troops and were told to send representatives to Halifax to make formal treaties with the governor and Council. The Maliseet and Passamaquoddy representatives arrived in Halifax in February 1760.¹⁸⁰

5.4. Making Peace

The process of making the peace began in early 1760. In January, representatives from several bands of Mi'kmaq came to Halifax, followed within days by representatives of the Maliseet and Passamaquoddy tribes. The terms worked out with the Maliseet and Passamaquoddy tribes became the model for subsequent terms with the Mi'kmaq. The treaties that were negotiated in 1760-1 became the basis of British policy in Nova Scotia.¹⁸¹ At an official Treaty-signing ceremony in Halifax in June 1761, the Chief of the Cape Breton Mi'kmaq, in the words of the translator, declared "As long as the Sun and Moon shall endure, as long as the Earth on which I dwell shall exist in the same State you

¹⁷⁹ A minute of council written by Paul Maserene, then Lieutenant-Governor, in January 1745 cited in Key Document H-11 Hannay, *A History of Acadia*, 296.

¹⁸⁰ Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 149.

¹⁸¹ The various treaties are available in different archival collections. A draft of the Maliseet and Passamaquoddy Treaty that was negotiated on 23 Feb. 1760 can be found at PANS, MG1, vol 258, 66-83. A final draft, dated 23 Feb. 1760 is in PRO, CO217/18. The La Have Treaty can be found in the Andrew Brown Collection, vol 174, at the PANS. The Miramichi Treaty of 25 June 1761 is in PANS, RG1, 165, 162-5. The Treaty of Miramichi, Restigouche, and Shediac bands of 26 Sept. 1761 is in PRO, CO217/54, 252-7. See, Buckner and Reid, *A History of the Atlantic Region*, notes 60-62, 418-9.

this day see it, so long will I be your friend and Ally, submitting myself to the Laws of your Government, faithful and obedient to the Crown".¹⁸² The leaders of the Mi'kmaq bands in the Maritime region promised in those treaties not to molest British subjects whether they lived in existing settlements or those to be founded later.

5.5. A New Interpretation of British-Mi'kmaq Conflicts in the 18th Century

William Wicken offers a new interpretation of the meanings and implications of the British-Mi'kmaq conflicts in Atlantic Canada throughout the 18th century, especially in the interpretation of the Peace and Friendship treaties.¹⁸³ Wicken rejects the long-accepted notion that the Mi'kmaq culture and autonomy had been compromised by the mid-18th century and that they had little option but accept the deal the British offered. He argues that at the time of the first Treaty in 1726 the Mi'kmaq had, indeed, been affected by contact with the Europeans, but they were far from a state of dependency. Moreover, their cultural values were pretty much intact, and their own tradition of Treaty-making was still very much in existence. The Mi'kmaq continued to speak their language in their communities and Wicken argues that the Mi'kmaq would not have understood the European Treaty-making process. Those treaties, Wicken argues, were negotiated using the protocol of the Mi'kmaq as evidenced by the ceremonies surrounding the events. And, he argues, the treaties were negotiated by local colonial authorities and thus reflected the British needs as seen from Halifax and not London. One article of the Treaty of 1726 said that the Mi'kmaq would "make Submission to his said Majesty in as Ample a Manner as wee have formerly to the Most Christian [French] King."¹⁸⁴ As the Mi'kmaq had never been dominated by the French, they would have seen this clause as a continuation of their relationship that had existed during the French regime when they [the Mi'kmaq] regarded the French as allies and friends. Wicken argues, as have many others, including Dickason, that the Mi'kmaq never saw themselves as subjects of the French. Neither did the Mi'kmaq believe for a moment that their alliances with the French made them subjects of the British after 1713.¹⁸⁵ The treaties signed after 1713 did not subjugate the Mi'kmaq in the view of the Mi'kmaq. To build his case, Wicken claims that he reads the treaties as "oral text written into alphabetic form."¹⁸⁶ The treaties cannot be read without a historical context, and to give a literal meaning of the written word is only to get a partial story. In his research, he relies on oral texts and thus gives credence of the oral culture of the Mi'kmaq.¹⁸⁷

5.6. Acadian Refugees in Northeastern New Brunswick

¹⁸² Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 150-151; and PRO, CO217/18, 276-84, "Ceremonials at Concluding a Peace," 25 June 1761.

¹⁸³ William Wicken, *Mi'kmaq Treaties on Trial: History, Land and Donald Marshall Junior* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). William Wicken was one of the expert witnesses at the R. v. Marshall (1999) S.C.C., though his interpretation was relatively well known before the publication of his book.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 110.

¹⁸⁵ Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations. A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992), 102, 106-112.

¹⁸⁶ Wicken, *Micmac Treaties on Trial*, 40.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

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During the Expulsion, “many Acadians escaped exile to New England and the other southern colonies by fleeing northward to the safety of the Peticodiac and St. John River Valleys, the Ile Saint Jean and the Magdalen Islands.”¹⁸⁸ In addition, many Acadians were rounded up and brought to the Miramichi. Specifically, in 1756, Boishébert was ordered by the Comte de Vaudreuil, Governor of New France, to bring all Acadians from Cocagne and Saint John River to Miramichi, to an island in the Miramichi River. It later became known as Beaubear’s Island. Most of the Acadian refugees on the rivers flowing into the Bay of Fundy followed these orders.¹⁸⁹ From Miramichi, Acadian refugees continued further north.

According to Smith, “Many of the Acadians in New Brunswick took to the woods with their Indian allies; around the North Shore the relationship was often closer than that.”¹⁹⁰ Smith goes on to claim that, “[n]ot generally known, is the fact, that when the war had finally been settled in Britain’s favour, the Acadians were permitted to return to what most of them had come to consider their homeland. The colonial regime even gave them some assistance in this regard.... The exiles returned to find a remnant of their people still hiding in the dense forests of eastern New Brunswick.”¹⁹¹

Between 1755 and 1760, some Acadians arrived and established settlements along the shore of the Baie de Chaleur. They came from their refugee settlement at Beaubear’s Island on the Miramichi, which had been established at this same time.¹⁹² “On October 29, 1761 Captain Roderick MacKenzie, of the Royal Navy, arrived at Bathurst with 60 soldiers and rounded up these newly settled Acadians (about 160 in number) from the vicinity of Bathurst ...” Many later escaped and then returned to these refuges along the northeastern coast of New Brunswick.¹⁹³

With the arrival of Acadian refugees, Bathurst received new settlers for the first time since Jean Jacques Enaud and Nicolas Denys. Another settler in the Bathurst area was Charles Doucet, who arrived in 1757 with his four sons. He established a residence in West Bathurst along with eight other Acadian families. Charles Doucet helped found the Holy Family Church, then called St. Peter’s.¹⁹⁴ In 1778, his son, Dominique, built the town’s first gristmill.¹⁹⁵

By 1760, Acadians in the Baie de Chaleur and Miramichi Bay had been refugees for almost five years. They moved around constantly. They were only able to provide temporary shelter and food for their families. “The population of the Bays of Chaleur and Miramichi, according to the French Commissary Bazagier, who made a Census during the summer of 1760, consisted of 1,488 Acadians, 100

¹⁸⁸ See H-10 Haines, “The Acadian Settlement,” 3. This thesis focused on the group that found their way to the northeastern coast of New Brunswick.

¹⁸⁹ H-10 *Ibid.*, 3, 6.

¹⁹⁰ H-18 Smith, *The Mosaic Province of New Brunswick*, 11. Smith does not provide references for his work. The primary sources are thus unknown.

¹⁹¹ H-18 *Ibid.*, 99. Smith does not provide references for his work. The primary sources are thus unknown.

¹⁹² H-13 Mersereau, “A History of Our Community,” (no page #s).

¹⁹³ H-13 *Ibid.* Note: Rev. Charles Mersereau is a noted local historian. His account of Bathurst history has won awards. But, he did not reference his work. Thus, it was not possible to review or reference any primary sources.

¹⁹⁴ H-13 *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ H-13 *Ibid.*

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“Normans and Métis,” together with 562 Indians.”¹⁹⁶ The specific breakdown in the communities was:

Restigouche	160 Acadian families = 1003 people
Caraquet	150 persons
Miramichi	35 families = 194 people
Shippegan	5 families = 26 people
Richibucto	35 families = 68 people

The Restigouche group did better than others because of small provisions from Quebec. And for unknown reasons, Caraquet also fared well. However, Shippegan, Little River and other French Acadian settlements did not last long. They were raided by armed forces from Nova Scotia. People were removed or driven away.¹⁹⁷

5.7. Dealings with Indian Lands and the Belcher Proclamation

Around the same time, British officials issued a series of proclamations providing direction for dealing with Indian lands. In 1761, the first was issued to the governor of Nova Scotia and several of the American colonies. It forbade the governors from making land grants or establishing settlements that interfered with Indians in the region. Any settler who unlawfully occupied Indian land was to be evicted. Moreover, there would be no sale of Indian land without approval of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in London. In fact, when Jonathan Belcher, lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, became alarmed over Mi'kmaq claims, he was told that they had the right to use the sea coast from Cape Fronsac “onwards”.¹⁹⁸ The Belcher Proclamation was written a year later and clarified this British policy. The Belcher Proclamation is more specific and states,

...AND, WHEREAS Claims have been laid before me in behalf of the Indians for Fronsac Passage and from thence to Nartigonneich, and from Nartigonneich to Piktouk, and from thence to Cape Jeanne, from then to Emchich, from thence to Ragi Pontouch, from thence to Tedueck, from thence to Cape Rommentin, from thence to Miramichy, and from thence to Bay Des Chaleurs, and the environs of Canso. From thence to Mushkoodabwet, and so along the coast as the Claims and Possessions of the said Indians...¹⁹⁹

A year later, when the Mi'kmaq demanded clarification of the arrangements, Belcher was again reminded that the south coast of Nova Scotia from Chaleur Bay to Canso to Musquodoboit Bay, about

¹⁹⁶ Census quotes in H-10 Haines, “The Acadian Settlement,” 12. Note: This census was unavailable as it is located in the Paris Archives.

¹⁹⁷ Census information from H-10 Haines, “The Acadian Settlement,” 12.

¹⁹⁸ Dickason, *Canada's First Nations*, 187. The proclamations are reprinted in Peter A. Cummings and Neil H. Mickenberg, eds., *Native Rights in Canada* (Toronto, 1970), 285-92.

¹⁹⁹ Belcher Proclamation, 1762. <http://www.tc.edu/centers/cifas/socialdisparity/background/1762.htm>. Also available in the Adney Fonds at UNB. Many of the place names are unfamiliar in the current context, but were likely English translations of French and/or Aboriginal place names common at the time.

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35 kilometers east of Halifax, was to be reserved for the Mi'kmaq.

The English still did not enjoy a friendly relationship with the Indians, like the French did. The French had been more interested in the fur trade and they traveled and hunted with the Mi'kmaq. The Mi'kmaq had traded with the French for more than a century, and many of the Indians had been converted to Catholicism by French missionaries and some had even learned the French language.²⁰⁰ To improve relations with the Mi'kmaq, the English Colonial administrator signed the Treaty of Peace and Friendship with representatives of various Indian bands on June 25th, 1761. The English wished to have a measure of peace with the Indians before it brought large numbers of settlers into the region. The Treaty set out that the English were allowed to hold two Indian hostages as a guarantee that the terms of the Treaty would be respected. A proclamation by Governor Jonathan Belcher on May 4th, 1762 said that all people were to refrain from molesting the Indians during their hunting, fowling and fishing, and in the peaceful activity on their lands.²⁰¹ 1760-1761 saw many Mi'kmaq and Maliseet representatives go to Halifax to Treaty with the British Governor.

Belcher, described as "conservative, imperial-minded and committed to the application of British law in the colonies" received instructions from the Board of Trade in London on how best to deal with Indians who were harassing British settlements bordering on the colony.²⁰² Similar instructions were also sent to governors in the American colonies where there were considerable hostilities between Indians and British frontiersmen.²⁰³

It has been suggested that Belcher misunderstood the instruction that he received as his Proclamation did not deal with Indians bordering on Nova Scotia but rather those Mi'kmaq that lived throughout the colony. Belcher had never been popular in Nova Scotia and his Proclamation provided his critics with even more ammunition; he was recalled shortly after, and the Board of Trade ruled that Belcher had made a mistake. Patterson argues that Belcher's replacement, Montagu Wilmot, was instructed to inform those in the colony that any claim to the land along the coast that had not already been recognized was available for the common use of fishermen, whether Indian or non-Indian, and both groups were to have equal rights. The Crown wanted the coastline to remain common land, and Patterson has argued that the Belcher incident reveals the Crown's intention in Nova Scotia in the 1760s. Far from recognizing Mi'kmaq claims to the territory, the Crown rejected Belcher's Proclamation and made it clear that it wanted to have Nova Scotia settled and that the Mi'kmaq would be limited to those lands "not lying near the Coast but rather the lands amongst the Woods and Lakes, where the wild beasts resorts and are found in plenty".²⁰⁴

5.7.1. The Beginning of British Settlement in the 1760s

After the Belcher Proclamation, the next step for the British officials, of course, was to settle the new

²⁰⁰ W.D. Hamilton, *Miramichi Papers* (Fredericton: Centennial Print and Litho Limited, 1987), 83.

²⁰¹ Hamilton, *Miramichi Papers*, 83.

²⁰² Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 150-151.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ PANS, Whitehall Despatches, 1792-9, RG1/31/10 cited in G.P. Gould and A.J. Semple, *Our Land: The Maritimes*, (Fredericton: Saint Anne's Point Press, 1980), 22.

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territory. At this time, British settlers arrived all along the eastern coast of New Brunswick, including Miramichi and Bathurst. The first British settlers came mostly from the northern part of Britain, specifically Aberdeenshire and Bamffshire in Scotland.²⁰⁵

5.7.2. Settlement at Miramichi

British settlers first arrived in the Miramichi region in the 1760s.²⁰⁶ They did not get along with their Mi'kmaq neighbors nearly as well as the French. The Mi'kmaq along the Miramichi River had had a long association with the French before the area was opened up to British settlement. In 1765, William Davidson, from Scotland, moved to Miramichi from Halifax with his friend and business partner, John Cort, also from Scotland. They wanted to start a fishing business. At that time, there were no houses in the county and the Indians had destroyed the abandoned French houses. Nor were there any other Europeans around in the county.²⁰⁷ The government of Nova Scotia (which then included New Brunswick) agreed to the establishment of a salmon fishing business and granted them a large piece of land (100,000 acres²⁰⁸), which is the site of present-day Newcastle. This, however, came with a recognition of Indian fishery rights.²⁰⁹ In 1765, the British issued a 100,000-acre grant on the Miramichi to William Davidson and John Cort to begin a commercial enterprise to fish the bountiful river. They were granted possession of the salmon fishery, but that grant came with a recognition to the Indians of their rights in the fishery. The Grant, which was made in Halifax on October 29th, 1765 was quoted in Nicholas's publication in the following manner:

The Governor laid before the Council the following Memorials for their consideration.

William Davison & John Cort & Co. for a Township on the River Mirimichy – Granted to have the possession of the salmon fishery during their occupation of the same and reserving the same to the Indians their right to the said industry.²¹⁰

The fishing business was not very successful because there were no local markets for fresh fish and thus they had to be salted and shipped to England. Some of the first shipments were lost at sea due to stormy weather. So in 1773, Davidson started a shipbuilding business instead.²¹¹

In making the grant, British officials also stipulated that Davidson and Cort settle the area with English-speaking Protestants, and cultivate the land. While there was no rush of settlers to the area, a

²⁰⁵ H-3 Cooney, *A Compendious History*, 30.

²⁰⁶ Milson, "The Native People of the Miramichi," 14.

²⁰⁷ H-3 Cooney, *A Compendious History*, 41.

²⁰⁸ Arbuckle, *The Northwest Miramichi*, 16.

²⁰⁹ Andrew Nicholas Jr., *The Fishing Rights of Indian People in Canada with particular emphasis for Indian People of New Brunswick*. Prepared for the Union Brunswick Indians Research Committee. (No date), 26. Note, the call number for this book is KE 7722 H8 N52 1970.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 26-27

²¹¹ Arbuckle, *The Northwest Miramichi*, 16, 63.

few did come in the decade following the issuance of the grant. Initially, the relationship between the few settlers who arrived and the Mi'kmaq was good, but the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War created serious tension between the two groups.²¹²

In 1775, war broke out with the United States and the Indians sided with the Americans and ravaged the Miramichi area. "The Mi'kmaq, although officially neutral in the conflict, were very much committed to the French who were allied with the Americans. In 1775, the Mi'kmaq burned down buildings, stole cattle, and plundered John Cort's storehouses, which contained more than 700 moose hides dressed for overseas shipment. Within two years, Davidson had decided to abandon temporarily the area for the safety of the Saint John River."²¹³ The British would not allow the Mi'kmaq to force settlers from the land, so they dispatched the *HMS Viper* to the area to quell the violence. Sixteen Mi'kmaq were captured and sent off to Quebec, and the Chief John Julian fled.²¹⁴

5.7.3. Settlement at Bathurst

As stated earlier, "The population of the Bay of Chaleur and Miramichi, according to the French Commissary Bazagier who made a Census during the summer of 1760, consisted of 1,488 Acadians, 100 'Normans and Métis,' together with 562 Indians."²¹⁵ Commodore Walker arrived in 1765 in the Baie de Chaleur, the same year that Davidson arrived in the Miramichi. He is described simply as a "Scotsman"²¹⁶ from the north of Scotland. Walker formed an extensive establishment on Alston Point, on the North side of Bathurst harbour. He came with Mr. Robertson, who was from Morayshire, in Scotland, and John Young, an Englishman who married an "Indian". He built two residences and filled them with elegant furnishings from England. At Alston Point, Walker had a summer house, a fort, five large stores, many out-houses, a battery, along with a lawn and a garden. In the winter, he had a house at Youghall, at the head of the harbour. He also had a very good business in trading furs, walrus ivory and fish, which he exported to England and the Mediterranean. He also had a trading post at Restigouche. In 1777, during the American Revolution, Yankee privateers destroyed Walker's establishment.²¹⁷

Another permanent settler in the Bathurst area was Hugh Munro who arrived in 1783. "He was born in Scotland but in his youth went to the United States. He came to Canada as a United Empire Loyalist, during the Revolution and settled first at Gaspé. As a merchant, he had traded with Bathurst people and then decided to establish at this seaport town."²¹⁸ He was elected to the New Brunswick House of Assembly in years 1820-1827 for Northumberland County and in 1827 he was the first Gloucester member, once it became a new county (in 1827). In 1827 he also became the first Registrar of Deeds and Judge of Probate.²¹⁹

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ W.D. Hamilton, *The Julian Tribe*. (Fredericton, N.B.: Micmac-Maliseet Institute, University of New Brunswick and Centennial Print & Litho, 1984), 6.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ Census quotes in H-10 Haines, "The Acadian Settlement," 12.

²¹⁶ H-13 Mersereau, "A History of Our Community," (no page #s).

²¹⁷ H-13/*ibid.*

²¹⁸ H-13 *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ H-13 *Ibid.*

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In contrast to Mersereau, E.B. Biggar claims that James Sutherland was the first Englishman to settle the Bathurst area. He is listed as the “founder of Bathurst”²²⁰ but he did not arrive in the area until 1789, 25 years after Walker. He was of Scottish decent and arrived with his wife and crew by ship, after spending a short time in Boston and Saint John. He obtained 3,000 acres from the New Brunswick government with the agreement that he would cultivate the land. Eventually, others settlers joined him.²²¹ A year after he arrived, Sutherland took a shipment of timber back to England.²²²

5.8. The Treaty of Paris

While early British (mostly Scottish) colonists were settling along the northeastern shore of New Brunswick, England and France were continuing to negotiate over lands in the region. By 1763, England and France had negotiated a peace Treaty to end the Seven Years’ War that saw France surrender its claims to Acadia. Specifically the Treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763 saw mainland Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and all the St. Lawrence islands, including Ile Saint-Jean (Prince Edward Island) be surrendered to the British.

5.9. The Royal Proclamation of 1763

The British issued the Royal Proclamation on October 7, 1763. Through it, the boundaries of Nova Scotia were extended to include Ile Saint-Jean (anglicized to the Island of St John, later to become Prince Edward Island) and Ile Royale or Cape Breton. At this time, Nova Scotia also included present day New Brunswick. The Proclamation includes several important clauses on Indians throughout North America, and it is one of the important documents for the discussion of the British policy of imperial protection of Indians.²²³

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our Interest, and the Security of our Colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom We are connected, and who live under our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them. Or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds.--We do therefore, with the Advice of our Privy Council, declare it to be our Royal Will and Pleasure. That no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of our Colonies of Quebec, East Florida. Or West Florida, do presume, upon any Pretence whatever, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass any Patents for Lands beyond the Bounds of their respective Governments. as described in

²²⁰ Biggar, *Memories of Bathurst*, 21.

²²¹ It is not known from where the other settlers came. They may have been from the United States or from Britain. It is also not known if women joined them.

²²² Biggar, *Memories of Bathurst*, 18-24.

²²³ The Royal Proclamation of 1763 did not allow settlement beyond the coastal Appalachian Mountains as the territory beyond that point was reserved for native peoples.

their Commissions: as also that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of our other Colonies or Plantations in America do presume for the present, and until our further Pleasure be known, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass Patents for any Lands beyond the Heads or Sources of any of the Rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the West and North West, or upon any Lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

And. We do further strictly enjoin and require all Persons whatever who have either willfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any Lands within the Countries above described, or upon any other Lands which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such Settlements.

And whereas great Frauds and Abuses have been committed in purchasing Lands of the Indians, to the great Prejudice of our Interests. and to the great Dissatisfaction of the said Indians: In order, therefore, to prevent such Irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our Justice and determined Resolution to remove all reasonable Cause of Discontent, We do. With the Advice of our Privy Council strictly enjoin and require. that no private Person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any Lands reserved to the said Indians, within those parts of our Colonies where, We have thought proper to allow Settlement: but that. if at any Time any of the Said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said Lands, the same shall be Purchased only for Us, in our Name, at some public Meeting or Assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that Purpose by the Governor or Commander in Chief of our Colony respectively within which they shall lie: and in case they shall lie within the limits of any Proprietary Government. They shall be purchased only for the Use and in the name of such Proprietaries, conformable to such Directions and Instructions as We or they shall think proper to give for that Purpose: And we do. By the Advice of our Privy Council, declare and enjoin, that the Trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our Subjects whatever. provided that every Person who may incline to Trade with the said Indians do take out a Licence for carrying on such Trade from the Governor or Commander in Chief of any of our Colonies respectively where such Person shall reside. And also give Security to observe such Regulations as We shall at any Time think fit. By ourselves or by

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our Commissaries to be appointed for this Purpose, to direct and appoint for the Benefit of the said Trade.²²⁴

The Crown reserved for itself a monopoly over land negotiations with the Indians, and proclaimed further that private citizens could not purchase land from them. Only at public meetings called by the colonial governors could land be purchased from Indians. These clauses have been subject to considerable interpretations, but clearly the government intended to protect the Indians from land speculators while, at the same time, perhaps ensuring that the land would be reserved for Indians until the government had use of it. At that point, the state would negotiate with the Indians for the land.²²⁵

Hence, according to the instructions issued by the imperial authorities in London after the British Conquest, any land grants issued in the colony could not include any land that was either occupied or used by Indians. This policy was to govern the granting of land patents for many decades. One of the first legal interpretations of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 was rendered by Lord Watson in the St. Catharines Milling Case.²²⁶ He ruled that the “tenure of the Indians was a personal and usufructuary right, dependent upon the good will of the Sovereign.” The lands that were reserved by the Indians were stated to belong to the Dominion and it was the will of the Sovereign that certain lands were reserved for the use of the Indians as their hunting grounds under his protection and dominion. Hence, Natives were guaranteed only the right to “use” the lands not ceded to or purchased by the Crown. R.W. McInnes concluded in 1968 that “This right must be interpreted as including the right to hunt and fish since that was their normal use. Such rights, therefore, remain with the Indians unless subsequently extinguished by Treaty or legislation.”²²⁷

The last formal Treaty entered into by the Mi'kmaq and the British in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was in 1779. It was negotiated Windsor, Nova Scotia on September 22nd, 1779. This Treaty was between all of the Mi'kmaq villages in what is now New Brunswick and the British, represented by Michael Francklin, who was superintendent of Indian Affairs in Nova Scotia.

5.10. The Great Return to Acadia

In 1764, a royal proclamation gave the Acadians permission to return and take up vacant lands in Nova Scotia (Acadia), thus clearing the way for permanent and unmolested settlement of Acadians in northeastern New Brunswick.²²⁸ “This region [northeastern New Brunswick] had witnessed, almost a century before the Expulsion, unsuccessful attempts at settlements, notably at Miramichi and

²²⁴ The Royal Proclamation October 7, 1763,

http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Canada/English/PreConfederation/rp_1763.html (April 21, 2005).

²²⁵ L.F.S. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1979), 61-5.

²²⁶ See R.W. McInnes, “Indian Treaties and Related Disputes,” *Faculty of Law Review*, University of Toronto, Vol. 27, August 1969.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ Clarence LeBreton, “Caraquet: Acadian Heritage Source of Pride and Determination,” June 1976.

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Nepisiguit by Nicolas Denys and his son Richard.”²²⁹

The Acadians found far inferior soil in northeastern New Brunswick compared to what they were used to in Nova Scotia. Their choice of livelihood was limited to farming or fishing. They settled the area without outside assistance. They were not a literate society and thus written records are scarce. A thesis by Cedric Haines argues that “... what documentation is available clearly [shows] that settlement was anything but haphazard. Settlement activity was largely determined by a combination of proximity to the fishery and availability of salt marsh hay”.²³⁰ Haines goes on to state that, “A striking feature of the history of northeastern New Brunswick is the definiteness with which all its settlements has originated and centered around its waterways, whence it has extended only in recent times[early 1900s] to the neighboring backlands”.²³¹

In the early 1760s, the settlement at Nepisiguit appears to have been by far the most prosperous of all of the Acadian settlements in the northeast.²³² During Smethurst’s voyage in 1761, three Acadian settlements were prospering. They were situated between Miramichi and the Baie de Chaleur, namely Nepisiguit, Caraquet and Négua. Haines assumes that these sites were most popular because of the cod fishery.²³³ For the Acadians, Négua, Caraquet and Nepisiguit had suitable harbours for fishing and the locations provided enough salt marsh hay to maintain the small number of cattle they had brought. Haines claims that the Nova Scotia government knew that these settlements were being established, the “presence and weight of officialdom was seldom felt in that distant region of the Province after the MacKenzie raid of October, 1761. Interest in the region subsided almost completely, except for an occasional protest against the illicit trade the Acadians carried on with the French.”²³⁴ The Acadians in the northeast for the most part remained undisturbed by the Nova Scotia government.

5.11. Early History of Caraquet

During their return to Acadia, some Acadians found their way back to Caraquet. However, Caraquet was in existence long before the Acadians took refuge there or returned after the Expulsion as the following discussion will reveal.²³⁵

²²⁹ See H-10 Haines, “The Acadian Settlement,” 3.

²³⁰ H-10 *Ibid.*, 4. It is not known how many Acadians returned from exile and more specifically, how many returned (or re-settled) to northeastern New Brunswick. There is no concrete data on specific numbers. The Acadians spent the years of their exile in various locales. Some returned for a time to France. Most fled to the United States, particularly the southern parts, such as Louisiana. See “Acadian History,” Knights Canadian Info Collection, <http://www.members.shaw.ca/kcic3/acadian.html> (April 21, 2004) for more information on Acadian refugees.

²³¹ H-9 W.F. Ganong, “History of Shippegan,” *Acadiensis*, 8, No.2, (April 1908): 138-161.

²³² H-10 Haines, “The Acadian Settlement,” 13-14.

²³³ H-10 *Ibid.*, 19.

²³⁴ H-10 *Ibid.*, 26.

²³⁵ LeBreton, “Caraquet,” 1.

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Caraquet was first mentioned in 1672 in Nicolas Denys book describing the history and geography of North America. Denys refers to Caraquet as “Tousquet.”²³⁶ He states that “This Bay of Tousquet has about three to four leagues of extent.” Denys goes on to describe that the woods around Tousquet are “good for hunting” and that the woods have fir trees. According to Ganong, Caraquet came from an Indian name, Calaket. Ganong states that when he wrote his book on Caraquet in the early 1900s, the Indians still called it this, but they did not know its meaning.²³⁷

As early as 1724 Caraquet received its first “European” resident. This was “old man Saint Jean” who was from old France and not considered an Acadian. He also appears to have been left alone during English raids on Acadians during the Expulsion. According to Ganong,

Saint Jean’s residence has been preserved for us by tradition; it was on the eastern side of Ruisseau Isabel, which was formerly called after him... This place seems to have been an early centre of settlement of some importance, for an ancient burial ground is known on the western side... Some fifty years ago the bodies, which included those of some Indians wrapped in birch bark, and of Europeans, including a person of distinction with whom a large gold crucifix had been buried, were removed to the burial ground near the church.²³⁸

Gamaliel Smethurst (who Ganong describes as an “English trader”) also mentions a Frenchman from Old France, named Saint Jean in his travel journal in 1761.²³⁹ This important narrative was first printed in London in 1774, though it was written originally in 1761, and reprinted for the New Brunswick Historical Society in 1905 and edited by Ganong.²⁴⁰ It gives a vivid picture of the northern coast of New Brunswick at the close of the Acadian period. One entry dated Thursday, November 5, 1761 reads:

As we sailed all night, got down to Caraquet, twelve leagues by morning. It was a very cold disagreeable night. Old Saint Jean condoled with me upon the occasion, but would not buy anything I had, to raise a little money; unless I would sell them for a quarter their value – Sold him nine shirts, and some silver lace for a trifle. This man

²³⁶ Nicolas Denys, *The Description and natural history of the coasts of North America* (Paris, 1672). Translated by and cited in W.F. Ganong, *History of Caraquet and Pokemouche* (Saint John: New Brunswick Museum, 1948). (See Key Document H-7.) Later published by the Champlain Society of Toronto. The entire translated *Description* can be found on the Champlain Society’s website: www.champlainsociety.ca.

²³⁷ Whole paragraph from: Nicolas Denys, *Description géographique et historique des costes de l’Amérique septentrionale*.

²³⁸ H-7 W.F. Ganong, *History of Caraquet and Pokemouche*, 12.

²³⁹ Smethurst’s publication is titled, “A Narrative of an Extraordinary Escape out of the Hands of the Indians in the ‘Gulph’ of St. Lawrence.”

²⁴⁰ F-2 Gamaliel Smethurst, “A Narrative of an Extraordinary Escape out of the Hands of the Indians in the Gulph of St. Lawrence,” cited in W.F. Ganong, “Historical-Geographical Documents Relating to New Brunswick,” *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society* 6 (Saint John: The Sun Printing Company, Ltd., 1905): 358-390.

is a native of Old France – married an Indian, and has lived here near fifty years. His son, who is half Indian, called Jean Baptist, has married an Indian also. I have traded considerably with him – got him to procure two Indians to go with me to Fort Cumberland in a canoe...²⁴¹

During the summer of 1756, Alexis Landry, Charles Poirier, Olivier Blanchard, and Olivier Légère brought their families to the Caraquet region as they fled the English. They settled by the Petite-Rivière, where Ste-Anne-du-Bocage is found today.²⁴² Some or all of these people must have been pushed out of this settlement by the English because, in 1769, Alexis Landry returned to the area and obtained the right to “settle in the same place which he had formerly occupied” which was Le Bocage.²⁴³

While the Acadians were returning, a Catholic missionary named Charles François Bally of Messein came to work in the area in 1768. He was responsible for the entire area populated by the Acadian people. This area into which the Acadians retreated from the English was a large one.”²⁴⁴ Bally was the first missionary.

Caraquet is an important town within the study region. A group of people with mixed Norman and Indian ancestry obtained a grant of land from the Nova Scotia government to live there together. The following text was found in a report²⁴⁵ under subtitle: “Indian marital relationships” (meaning specifically Indian women and French men of various social statures). Following the

Great Return to Acadia...the acts of the oldest parish registers of New Brunswick, those of the Caraquet region (dating back to 1767) and those of Madawaska (dating back to 1792) mention some [similar unions]. These unions evidently coincide with the presence of Indian tribes in these areas, where at the present time they are settled on reservations. The strain of Indian blood has remained very visible there, in certain families, [sic] History tells us that a group of families described as “Normans and half-breeds”, descended from Norman soldiers of the Restigouche garrison (on the north shore of Chaleur Bay), settled among the Acadians of Caraquet; such is the case with the Gionets and the Lanteignes, whose family names are considered, at present, as Acadian by the population of these districts.²⁴⁶

²⁴¹ F-2 *Ibid.*, 358-390.

²⁴² LeBreton, “Caraquet,” 1.

²⁴³ J. Antonin Friolet, *This is Caraquet* (Ottawa: Imprimerie Gagné, 1994), 24. Note: Friolet does provide some primary source references but not for this information.

²⁴⁴ LeBreton, “Caraquet,” 1.

²⁴⁵ H-21 “Family Names in Acadia” French Canadian and Acadian Genealogy Review, 1, no. 6 (1978): 142.

²⁴⁶ H-21 *Ibid.*

These “Norman” and “half-breed” families (Gionnests and the Lanteignes) were said to have transferred to Caraquet from the Gaspé in 1761.²⁴⁷

The above text describes how Acadian and Norman settlers intermarried with local Indian groups in the Caraquet and the Madawaska regions. Not much detail has been uncovered regarding the mixed-ancestry people in the Madawaska region, but in Caraquet, there has been more information written on the group of “Normans et métisses” who settled in Caraquet. This information is provided below.

According to Haines, there are indications that the Nova Scotia government in Halifax approved, or at least knew about, the Acadian settlements in the region along the south of the Baie de Chaleur.

²⁴⁸Alexis Landry obtained permission from George Walker, a Justice of the Peace, to settle at Caraquet in March, 1769. Walker had a trading post at Nepisiguit. He had been appointed Justice of the Peace by the Nova Scotia government in order to confirm the Nova Scotian claim to the south side of the Bay.²⁴⁹

5.12. The “Grande Grant”

It was only in 1784, in the last year that Nova Scotia had jurisdiction over the lands north of the Missiquach River (now the border between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia), that the Nova Scotia government officially granted land to a group of French settlers on the south shore of Caraquet Bay.²⁵⁰

Francois Gionnest, along with 33 other families in Caraquet, petitioned the Nova Scotia government for a land grant in 1784.²⁵¹ A letter by Wentworth, Surveyor General, describes the group as “French Acadians.” This letter also describes the boundaries of the grant.²⁵² Another letter, by John Parr, Captain General and Governor-in-Chief for Nova Scotia, to Charles Morris, Esquire Chief Surveyor of Land, describes the warrant to survey. In this letter, dated February 4th, 1784 John Parr directed Charles Morris, Esq., Chief Surveyor of Land, to “Admeasure and layout unto François Gionnest and 33 others their wives and children a Plantation containing fourteen thousand one hundred and fifty acres of land at Caraquet.”²⁵³ On March 29th, 1784, 14,500 acres were granted to François Gionnest and the 33 other families.²⁵⁴ This is known as the “Grande Grant” (or Great Grant in English).²⁵⁵ The

²⁴⁷ H-21 *Ibid.*, 145

²⁴⁸ H-10 Haines, “The Acadian Settlement,” 25-27.

²⁴⁹ H-10 Placide Gaudet, “Les Acadiens: La Famille des Landry”, *Courier des Provinces Maritimes*, Sept. 3, 1885 cited in Haines, “The Acadian Settlement.”

²⁵⁰ See Key Document D-1 for a copy of the Grande Grant.

²⁵¹ D-2 Land Papers for François Gionnest and 33 others. Please see the Key Documents appendix for copies of these land papers, including the warrant to survey, surveyor’s report, surveyor’s certificate and a draft of the grant.

²⁵² See Key Document D-2 Land Papers for François Gionnest and 33 Others for a full description of the boundaries of the grant.

²⁵³ D-2 Land Papers for François Gionnest and 33 Others

²⁵⁴ Friolet, *This is Caraquet*. See also Key Documents B-3 and B-4 for historical maps of Caraquet and the Grande Grant.

²⁵⁵ See Key Document D-1 1784 Grande Grant for 34 families in Caraquet, as well as Key Document H-7 Ganong, *The History of Caraquet and Pokemouche*.

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land was in Caraquet.²⁵⁶ The “Grande Grant” consisted of 34 smaller land grants given to each of the 34 families and these grants covered the regions these people occupied at the time.²⁵⁷

The “Grande Grant” was the only land grant made by the Nova Scotia government to Acadians.²⁵⁸ It is critical to note that the British colonial government referred to the entire group of grantees as “Acadian” although some were “French Canadians,” “Indian,” “Normans” and “métisses”.²⁵⁹ Apparently, the government did not recognize any differences within the group.

Some of the boundaries and regulations of the grant are as follows:

And hath such shape, form and marks as appears by a plat thereof hereunto annexed; together with all woods, underwoods, timber and timber trees, lakes, ponds, fishings, waters, water courses, profits, commodities, appurtenances, and hereitaments whatsoever thereunto belonging or in anywise appertaining; together also with privilege of hunting, hawking and fowling in upon the same, and mines and minerals. Saving and reserving nevertheless to us, our heirs and successors all white pine trees, if any shall be found growing thereon; and also saving and reserving to us, our heirs and successors all mines of gold, silver, copper, lead and coals. To have and to hold the said parcel or tract of 14,150 acres of land, and all and singular other the premises hereby granted unto the said several Grantees...²⁶⁰

The grant also indicates the acreage given to each family in the grant.²⁶¹ The grant then goes on to explain payments and stipulations about clearing and working the land within the grant. In terms of payment, the grant states,

Heirs or Assigns YIELDING AND PAYING therefore unto us, our heirs and successors, or to our Receiver-General for the time being or to his Deputy or Deputies for the time being yearly – that is to say, at the Feast of St. Michael in every year, at the rate of two shillings for every hundred acres, and so in proportion according to the quantities of acres hereby granted; the same to commence and be payable from the said Fest of St. Michael which shall first happen after the expiration ten years from the date hereof. Provided always, and this present Grant is

²⁵⁶ See Ganong's map of the grant in Key Document H-7 WF Ganong, *The History of Caraquet and Pokemouche* (no page #).

²⁵⁷ H-7 *Ibid.* Note: It is not possible to determine if the land was similar to that occupied in 1767. But, the land included in the grant is in the maps included in Appendix B (see key documents B3 and B4 for the maps).

²⁵⁸ “Information générales,” Ville de Caraquet, http://ervp.umcs.ca/recherch/localite/mil-hum.cfm?no_loc+010 (March 15, 2005).

²⁵⁹ D-1 1784 Grande Grant for 34 families in Caraquet. Note: The Grande Grant describes the entire group of grantees as “Acadians” but Ganong and others further describe one part of the group as “French Acadians.”

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁶¹ See Key Document D-1 for the list of the acreages awarded to each family in the Grande Grant.

upon condition, that the said several and respective Grantees and their several and respective heir or assigns, shall and do, within three years after the date hereof, for every fifty acres of plantable land hereby granted, clear and work three acres at least in that part thereof as respectively he, she or they shall judge most convenient and advantageous, or else to clear and drain three acres of swampy or sunken ground, or drain three acres of marsh, if any such contained therein; and shall and do, within the time aforesaid, put and keep upon every fifty acres thereof accounted barren, three meat cattle, and continue the same thereon until three acres for every fifty acres be fully cleared and improved; and if there shall be no part of the said tract fit for present cultivation without manuring and improving the same several and respectively he, she or they, within the time aforesaid, shall be obliged to erect on some part of his, her or their respective land one good dwelling house, to be at least twenty feet in length and sixteen feet in breadth...²⁶²

5.13. The Grantees

Ganong and other historians consider the grantees of the “Grande Grant” to be the original settlers of Caraquet. They are:

François Gionnest	Louis Mailloux
Louis Lanteigne	Pierre Frigaux
Olivier Légère	Henri Chenard
Olivier Blanchard	Gabriel Albert
Zacharie Doiron	Pierre Albert
Jacques Morret	Charles Poirier
Michael Parisé	Alexis Cormier
Jean Baptiste Poulin	Thadé Landry
Louis Brideau	Alexis Landry
Pierre Thibodeau	Joseph Boudreau
Jean Cormier	Pierre Gallien
Joseph Dugas	Adrien Gallien
Pierre Landry	Charles Gauvin
Anselme Landry	Widow Giroux
Joseph Chiasson	Widow Boullet
René (Haché dit) Gallant	François Landry
René Bouteiller	Remi Landry ²⁶³

This group included (1) “Acadians”, (2) “Norman soldiers from the Restigouche Garrison” (3) other

²⁶² For a full description see a copy of the grant in D-1, the 1784 Grande Grant for 34 families in Caraquet.

²⁶³ This information can be found in the grant itself (Key Document D-1) and in H-7 Ganong, *History of Caraquet and Pokemouche*.

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“Normans” and people with Norman and Indian mixed-ancestry, and (4) a group of “French Canadians.”²⁶⁴

According to Ganong’s *History of Caraquet and Pokemouche*, the above settlers were part of two well-defined groups. One consisted of Acadians who settled at Upper Caraquet. Ganong describes the second group as “Normans-Canadians, with perhaps some soldiers from the garrison at Restigouche.” This group settled at Lower Caraquet.²⁶⁵

According to LeBreton, among the 34 families in Caraquet, several were not of Acadian origin. Rather they were French-Canadians who came mostly from the Gaspé. This early arrival of people from the other side of the Baie de Chaleur coincided with the founding of the Charles Robin Co., from Jersey in 1783. This company came to the region in order to exploit the products of the sea. Caraquet, like Paspébiac (Quebec), became one of the centres of activity for this company.²⁶⁶

5.13.1. Restigouche Garrison and Soldiers from Normandy, France

Ganong describes that some of the men on the list of grantees were from the Restigouche Garrison and may have been soldiers or sailors from Normandy.

Francois Gionnest (who married Marie-Anne Le Vicaire and then Marie Albert) was from Coutances, Normandy. Ganong comments that his excellent hand-writing implies that he was well-educated.²⁶⁷ Ganong speculated that he ran away from the army. Ganong states that he may have been one of the French men who accompanied Gamaliel Smethurst from Nepisiguit to Caraquet in 1761. Gionnest wrote the petition to the Nova Scotia government on behalf of the 34 families in Caraquet requesting land grants.²⁶⁸

Another soldier was supposedly Michel Parisé (who married Marie Albert), who was an educated man, “of some quality” from Normandy.²⁶⁹ Ganong goes on to state that Zacharie Doiron (who married Anne Le Vicaire) and Pierre Frigault (who married Josette Boutheiller) were also soldiers originally from Normandy.²⁷⁰ Louis Lantaigne (who married Marguerite Chapadeau around 1758) may also have been a soldier but Ganong believes he had been a resident among Norman families on the other side of the Baie de Chaleur.²⁷¹ Louis Lanteigne from Davranches, Normandie, who was also a soldier stationed at Restigouche.²⁷²

²⁶⁴ H-6 Ganong, “The History of Caraquet,” 104-106.

²⁶⁵ H-7 Ganong, *The History of Caraquet and Pokemouche*, 22.

²⁶⁶ LeBreton, “Caraquet,” 2.

²⁶⁷ See D-1 for a sample of Gionnest’s writing.

²⁶⁸ D-1 1784 Grande Grant for 34 Families in Caraquet.

²⁶⁹ Friolet, *This is Caraquet*.

²⁷⁰ Ganong does not provide his evidence specifically for this information. He does reference the 1784 “Grande Grant” and “Documents of 1760 in the Canadian Archives” for his information on the grantees in general.

²⁷¹ H-7 Ganong, *The History of Caraquet and Pokemouche*, 23. Ganong does not provide his evidence specifically for this information. He does reference the 1784 “Grande Grant” and “Documents of 1760 in the Canadian Archives” for his information on the grantees in general.

²⁷² H-7 *ibid*.

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Ganong states that, "Some, or perhaps all, of the [above] men, went with the Normans... as sailors on the privateer under Captain St. Simon; and after the destruction of their vessel they no doubt went to live with the Norman families on the other side of the bay [de Chaleur], for their wives are, without exception, daughters of these people [Norman families from the north side of the Bay de Chaleur]."²⁷³

5.13.2. "Normans et métisses"

Ganong also describes a group of settlers who married Indian women and lived across the bay at Pabos, Paspébiac, and elsewhere along the Gaspé coast. That coast of the Baie de Chaleur, especially at Grand River, was a common campsite for Norman fisherman from early times.²⁷⁴ This group is also described by Friolet who states, "Another group came from Norman families who had previously settled across la baie on the Gaspé Coast at places such as Paspébiac, Pabos and Gaspé".²⁷⁵

This group is described in the following translated passage from Nicolas Denys' 1672 book (Vol. 1, page 223):

It is in these two rivers that it has been customary for the bateaus of the Normans from the Banc aux Orphelins to seek safety when they are too hard pressed by a storm whilst their ships are at Isle Percée.... Those who go, as a rule, to make this fishery are the Normans from the harbour of Honfleur, from Dieppe, and from other little harbours of Normandy, likewise from all of the country of Aulnis. All those make up the number of two hundred to two hundred and fifty fishing vessels every year. All their fishery is almost solely for Paris, at least three quarters.²⁷⁶

Ganong believes this quote to be of importance because

this coast was the first settled by Norman fishermen, some of whom married Indian women. Documents of 1760 in the Canadian Archives (Report for 1887 CCXXIII) give seventeen families of "Normandes and Métisses" as living at Gaspar, Pabos, etc. Some of their descendents settled at Caraquet...²⁷⁷

According to Ganong, these Norman fishermen appear to not have settled permanently in the Gaspé area until after 1727. Ganong states that Sieur L'Hermitte mentioned only one resident on that coast in his 1727 report. Some time later, French fishermen from Normandy began to settle along the coast with names such as Chapadeau, Dugué, La Rocque, Mallet, Denis, Canivet, Morret, Le Breton, Huart,

²⁷³ H-7 *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁷⁴ H-2 Nicolas Denys 1672 book cited in Ganong, *The History of Caraquet and Pokemouche*, 23.

²⁷⁵ Friolet, *This is Caraquet*, 25.

²⁷⁶ Denys, *The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America, Acadia*, 259,219,522,259.

²⁷⁷ H-7 Ganong, *The History of Caraquet and Pokemouche*, 23.

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Roussy and probably Le Vicaire, Albert and Lantaigne. "Most of [these fishermen] came without families and [the] earlier arrivals married Indian women, while later, like the soldiers from the Restigouche garrison, married daughters of these couples."²⁷⁸ "It was old Boutheiller who married Angélique Saint Jean mentioned by Smethurst. He lived across the bay, but his son René Boutheiller (who married Genevieve Chiasson) settled at Caraquet."²⁷⁹

"There is a document of 1760 preserved in the Paris archives which gives a list of the settlements of Bay Chaleur in 1760, and it gives at Pabos, Paspébiac, Gaspé, etc. seventeen families of 'Normandes et métisses'."²⁸⁰

The Norman families who came to Caraquet from across the Baie de Chaleur intermarried Indian and mixed-ancestry women. Ganong provides references to some of the Norman settlers.²⁸¹ He lists George La Rocque (who married Genevieve Boutheiller, but not a grantee), Pierre Gillian (who first married an Indian woman, whose name is not known, and then Angélique Saint Jean, widow of old Boutheiller), with him came his son Adrian who married a Dugué. Other settlers included Gabriel Albert (who married Angélique Denis), and his sons Pierre Albert (who married Gèneviève Denis), and Jen D. (who married Therese Lantaigne), but he was not a grantee.²⁸²

According to Ganong,

The names of the wives of these settlers show how closely intermarried were these Norman families, and how homogeneous in origin is this part of the population of Caraquet. The statement often made, that these wives were Indian, is not strictly true, though they were for the most part of quarter, or half, Indian origin. Their descendants are very numerous, not only in Caraquet, but in all the surrounding districts to which Caraquet has expanded, and this peculiar Norman-Indian strain is an important and distinctive element in the population of New Brunswick.²⁸³

5.13.3. The French Canadians

According to Ganong, "[t]here is a third contribution to the peopling of Caraquet, for the founders of Lower Caraquet included other Canadians"²⁸⁴ According to Ganong, the third group of the founders of Caraquet consisted of various Canadians from different parts of Quebec. These include Louis Mailloux (who married Lazanne Huart), Henri Chenard (who married Agnes Canivet), Jacques Morret (who married Agnes Boutheiller), all grantees and from Quebec. Jean Baptiste Poulin (who married

²⁷⁸ H-7 *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁷⁹ H-6 William F. Ganong, "The History of Caraquet," *Acadiensis* 7, no. 2 (April, 1907), 105.

²⁸⁰ H-7 Ganong, *The History of Caraquet and Pokemouche*, 23. The 1760 census is in the Paris Archives.

²⁸¹ H-6 Ganong, "The History of Caraquet," 104-106.

²⁸² H-6 *Ibid.*

²⁸³ H-6 *Ibid.*, 105-106.

²⁸⁴ Friolet, *This is Caraquet*, 25.

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Isabella Gasse and then Agnes Canivet) was from Rimouski. Not much is known about Louis Brideau (who married a Thomas), and the widows of Giroux and Boullet.²⁸⁵

What is interesting is that Ganong explains that Joseph Chiasson (who married Anne Haché) was an “Acadian” originally from Isle Saint Jean (Prince Edward Island). For a time he lived in Miscou but then settled among these “non-Acadians” of Lower Caraquet.²⁸⁶

5.13.4. The Acadians of Upper Caraquet

The last group of founders of Caraquet was the Acadian settlers of Upper Caraquet. This group had links to the time when Acadians were exiled, and some escaped expulsion by fleeing north. Other Acadians returned after 1764. Ganong describes them as being from “old Acadia”: “They were mostly from old Acadian, had been expelled thence in 1755, and after many wanderings had collected gradually at Caraquet”.²⁸⁷ The 1755 expulsion from Acadia led many to wander for several years. Some eventually gathered in Upper Caraquet. As stated above, Alexis Landry was one of these.

Ganong describes Alexis Landry as the most prominent settlers and also the earliest settler of this group. He married Marie Theriault and was expelled in 1755. “Not long after, and according to tradition, he settled at Little River, and made a clearing at Le Bocage, whence he was driven by MacKenzie’s raid of 1761. He lived for a time at Landry’s River, on Miscou, but in 1768 returned to his old clearing and settled permanently...”²⁸⁸

5.14. Shippegan and its Relation to Caraquet

Shippegan shares a similar history to that of Caraquet. “It was only after Nepisiguit, Caraquet and Neguac had been somewhat settled that the first residents came to Shippegan.”²⁸⁹

The first permanent settlers of Grand Shippegan were brothers François and Jacques Duguay and their brother-in-law Jean Malet. Soon after, they were joined by another brother, Jean Marie and by François Goulet. “The Duguays were sons of Rene Duguay, a Norman settler, and Marguerite Le Breton, of Pasbiac.”²⁹⁰

Ganong states that the group of Shippegan settlers

²⁸⁵ H-6 Ganong, “The History of Caraquet,” 106.

²⁸⁶ H-6 *Ibid.* Note: The term “non-Acadians” is Ganong’s term.

²⁸⁷ H-6 *Ibid.* Note: Ganong used the Grande Grant and what he calls “other documents” in referencing his history of Caraquet.

²⁸⁸ H-6 *Ibid.*, 101-106.

²⁸⁹ H-9 Ganong, “History of Shippegan,” 148.

²⁹⁰ H-9 *Ibid.*, 149.

as a whole... represent a part of the same national stock as that which settled Lower Caraquet. This, as I have described in my paper upon that place, is Norman French which a slight admixture of Indian, derived from the Norman fishermen who settled on the north side of the Bay Chaleur prior to 1760. Presumably they came to Shippegan somewhat later than their kinsmen settled in Caraquet and as a kind of extension of that place, and hence we may place their coming as not much earlier than 1780.²⁹¹

“They represent a Canadian-Acadian-French element contrasting markedly with the Norman-French element at Little Lamec, thus showing a parallelism with the two groups of Upper and Lower Caraquet.”²⁹²

The descendants of the original settlers “intermarried with one another and with the Caraquet settlers, and expanded to the principal parts of the Harbour and Island, and thus became the most numerous and influential portion of the population of Shippegan”.²⁹³

5.15. The End of the American Revolutionary War and the Influx of United Empire Loyalists

In the same year that the group in Caraquet applied for their land grant, the government of Nova Scotia decided to divide its territory and create a separate province, named New Brunswick. The British, who had paid little attention to Indian issues in Nova Scotia after 1763 until the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War in 1776, made the issue of Indian allegiances important. Since the surrender of the French, the British had done little to win the goodwill of the Mi’kmaq and Maliseet, even though both Indian groups had attempted to have their long-standing claims resolved. However, the relative lack of European settlement in New Brunswick prior to 1776 never made the British failure to address most Indian claims a major problem. Even so, the Indian groups continued to protest European intrusions onto their land. In Cape Breton, Mi’kmaq protested the surveys of the 1760s by Samuel Holland and reminded him of the land “granted them by His Majesty for the Convenience of Hunting in which they might not be molested by any European Settlers”.²⁹⁴ On the St John River (west of the study region), the Maliseet claimed that the land above Gimross was theirs and refused to allow American settlers to survey the region. In 1768, the Crown set aside 704 acres of land for one group of Maliseet along the Saint John River valley.²⁹⁵

Indians assumed some importance during the Revolutionary War, but the Mi’kmaq assumed a policy of official neutrality throughout the conflict. At the end of hostilities, the province experienced a large influx of refugees from the southern colonies. L.F.S Upton notes that, “in all the flood of correspondence concerning the details of the great migration, there is not one word about the Indians

²⁹¹ H-9 *Ibid.*, 150.

²⁹² H-9 *Ibid.*, 152.

²⁹³ H-9 *Ibid.*, 153.

²⁹⁴ Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists*, 69.

²⁹⁵ Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation*, 178.

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who would be dispossessed by the new settlers".²⁹⁶ The influx of 35,000 Loyalists into Nova Scotia meant that for the first time there was a real demand for land. In the territory that would become New Brunswick in 1784, there had been plenty of land for the Indians, existing settlers and the new Loyalists but, invariably the Loyalists received the choice acreage along the coastlines and along the river-fronts. The colonial government in New Brunswick diminished Indian bands' legal position by taking the reserve lands and restricting the Indians to licences of occupation rather than the freehold tenure of European and American settlers.²⁹⁷ The fur trade, the basis of much of the economic activity for the Indians, declined with the coming of Europeans settlement, and attempts to diversify the Indian economy through such activities as the sale of wild game were not highly successful. Some groups, such as the Maliseet on the St John River (west of the study region), continued to harass the settlers as a form of protest. These acts of protest, as well as the Indian demands that the Crown ensure their traditional way of life, were usually dismissed by the authorities.²⁹⁸ In the early days of the colony, there had been little real need for an Indian policy as they were so few in number and so scattered that they were not considered a serious threat to the incoming settlers. With the arrival of the Loyalists, "the Indians were driven back to the wilderness without much ceremony".²⁹⁹

5.16. The Creation of New Brunswick

In 1783, after the end of the American Revolutionary War, 35,000 United Empire Loyalists arrived in what was then Nova Scotia. These British descendents fled to British colonies from the United States in order to remain loyal to Britain. An estimated 15,000 Loyalists arrived in the Saint John River Valley in 1783.³⁰⁰ Because of this sudden increase in population and the large distance from the seat of the government in Nova Scotia, a new colony was created in 1784.³⁰¹ It was specifically on August 16, 1784 that the county of Sunbury, Nova Scotia, was established as a province and Thomas Carleton was appointed Captain and Commander-In-Chief of New Brunswick.³⁰² The new colony of New Brunswick included the land north of the Chignecto Isthmus to Quebec and west to Maine. Much land was needed to accommodate the Loyalists and there was a great shortage of land surveyors. But in 1785, Daniel Mischeau was hired by the New Brunswick government to survey the Miramichi River.³⁰³ Sheriff Benjamin Marston was then ordered to assign the new lots and have them registered.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁶ Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists*, 78.

²⁹⁷ Licences of occupation were at "the pleasure" of the Crown. See section 5.24 for more details on licences of occupation.

²⁹⁸ Ellice B. Gonzalez, *Changing Economic Roles for Micmac Men and Women: An Ethnohistorical Analysis* (Ottawa, 1981), 34-69.

²⁹⁹ Moses H. Perley, "Memorandum on History of Indians," [1848], CO 188/106, ff 205-223, microfilm, quoted in L.F.S. Upton, "Indian Affairs in Colonial New Brunswick," *Acadiensis* 3 No.2 (spring 1974), 3-4.

³⁰⁰ H-20 Graeme Wynn, "Population Patterns in Pre-Confederation New Brunswick," *Acadiensis*, 10, No.2 (1981): 126.

³⁰¹ Arbuckle, *The Northwest Miramichi*, 18.

³⁰² J.W. Lawrence, *Footprints; or Incidents in Early History of New Brunswick*, (Saint John: JA McMillan, 1883).

³⁰³ Arbuckle, *The Northwest Miramichi*, 51.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

5.17. Re-registering the "Grande Grant"

After New Brunswick became a separate province in August 1784, the group of "Grande Grant" grantees was required to re-register their grant with the new government.

Land grants are records created to document the distribution of Crown land. This process began in 1785 when those who had been granted land under Nova Scotia laws were required to re-register their deeds in the newly-created Province of New Brunswick. Nova Scotia grants in the newly created Province of New Brunswick were issued as early as 1765.³⁰⁵

According to the grant registered at Fredericton, the grantees of the "Grande Grant" were required to pay two shillings annually per one hundred acres, clear and work a certain portion of the land each year, or if the soil was unfit for planting, to mine or quarry the land, build a home of a particular size (16 x 20 feet), and keep a certain number of livestock on the land.³⁰⁶ "Perhaps the most taxing stipulation was that each grantee would be required to take an oath of allegiance to the King of England."³⁰⁷ Pierre Frigault, one of the grantees, must have honoured the terms of the agreement because he lived out his life on the land granted to him.³⁰⁸

In 1786, the same group of "Normans et métisses" (François Gionnest and 33 other families) submitted a petition to the New Brunswick government for additional land.³⁰⁹ This land petition asked for more marshland in front of their existing land grant in Lower Caraquet without which they stated on their petition: "auc'un de nous... Peut Elevere Des Hanimaux, Vue que la Terre que nous occupons a assez de Peine a nous produire de qui vivre."³¹⁰ Gionnest's letter of petition is signed "les abittant de Caraquet".³¹¹ However, the government's reply is addressed to "François Gionnest and 33 other ? ? Acadians."³¹²

5.18. The Mixed-Ancestry Genealogies of the some of the Grande Grant Families

Genealogies for most of the families in the "Grande Grant" were obtained.³¹³ This research has been

³⁰⁵ To read more about the land grant process see Key Document D-4, PANB, Series Level RS686, "New Brunswick Land Grant Records."

³⁰⁶ From the on-line genealogy of Pierre Frigault of Caraquet, NB: "Les deux frères," Frigault, <http://www.mouseworks.net/frigault/deuxfreres.htm> (April 21, 2005).

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.* Note: Detailed genealogical information is available about Pierre Frigault so it was possible to provide more detail about his situation.

³⁰⁹ See D-3 for the 1787 land petition letter for marshland in Caraquet, NB.

³¹⁰ D-3 *Ibid.*

³¹¹ This translates to "the residents of Caraquet."

³¹² These two words are illegible. However, an archivist at the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick provided a best guess that the words are "Assigned for", which have been written on other petitions of the time period. It is unfortunate that we cannot know for sure because they may be additional descriptive words for this group of settlers. See Key Document D-3 for the 1787 petition and government response.

³¹³ These were obtained from local genealogist Hermel Duguay.

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the work of Mr. Hermel Duguay, one of the descendents of this group. Also obtained was the official and court approved genealogies of Eric and Gracia Glidden.³¹⁴

The ancestry and family tree of François Gionnest was obtained. It shows that François Gionnest (1737-1823) first married Marie Le Vicaire in 1762, who was one quarter Indian. Marie Le Vicaire's mother was Francoise Rousseau, a half Indian who married Pierre Le Vicaire around 1730. Françoise's mother was a Mi'kmaq Indian, but her name is not known. Gionnest was married a second time to Marie Albert, the widow of Michel Parisé. Marie was the daughter of Gabriel Albert and Gèneviève Bouthillier. Gèneviève Bouthillier was born around 1741 to Joseph Bouthillier and Angélique Giraud. Angélique is listed as a half Indian and was born around 1720. Her father was Gabriel Giraud dit St.-Jean³¹⁵ and her mother was the same Indian woman who was Françoise Rousseau's mother. In effect, her mother, once widowed, married a second time to Gabriel Giraud in Caraquet.³¹⁶ The wife of Francois Gionnest (Marie LeVicaire) was part Indian on her mother's side. Her mother was Francoise Rousseau. François Gionnest and Marie Le Vicaire had a daughter, Marie Victoire, on December 30th, 1787.³¹⁷

Ancestry information for many of the other Caraquet settlers was obtained from local genealogist Hermel Duguay.³¹⁸ Louis Mailloux was born on December 25th, 1790. He was married on January 14th, 1823 to Anne Albert at Caraquet. Louis was part Indian on his mother's (Suzanne Huard) side. She had Mi'kmaq blood from her father side of the family.³¹⁹

Louis Lanteigne married Marguerite Chapados. She had Indian blood on her mother's side (Catherine Larocque.) According to Hermel Duguay's research,³²⁰ Catherine's grandmother was an "Indian micmac".³²¹

The wife of Zacharie Doirion, Anne LeVicaire, was part Indian on her mother's side. Her mother was Françoise Rousseau who was half Indian. Anne's grandmother was an Indian.³²²

René LeBouthillier was born in 1756 and married Gèneviève Chaisson in 1774. René's mother was Angélique Giraud who married Joseph LeBouthillier in 1749. Angélique's mother was an Indian. Gèneviève Chiasson has Inuit ("Eskimo"³²³) blood in her from her mother's side.³²⁴

³¹⁴ E-3 From the official and court approved genealogy of Eric Mark Glidden.

³¹⁵ "Dit" means "From" St. Jean, possibly as in Isle St Jean, or Prince Edward Island.

³¹⁶ E-3 From the official and court approved genealogy of Eric Mark Glidden.

³¹⁷ See E-3 for a copy of the official baptism record for Marie Victoire Gionais, in the official and court approved genealogy of Eric Mark Glidden.

³¹⁸ See E-1 for all of the genealogies of the 34 families. Provided to us by local genealogist, Hermel Duguay.

³¹⁹ E-1 Hermel's genealogies of the 34 "Grande Grant" Families.

³²⁰ E-1 Hermel Duguay's work is not well-referenced but he used baptismal and marriage records from Acadia/Nova Scotia. He also used "Extraits due microfilm des registres de Caraquet" from 1768-1771 and 1806-1853.

³²¹ E-1 *Ibid.*

³²² E-1 *Ibid.*

³²³ E-1 *Ibid.*

³²⁴ E-1 *Ibid.*

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It appears that Angelique Giraud also married Pierre Gallien around 1760. They had Adrien Gallien who married Marguerite Duguay around 1780. Pierre Frigault married Josette LeBouthillier in 1773. Josette was a daughter of Angelique Giraud and Joseph LeBouthillier. Angelique and Joseph also had another daughter, Angnès LeBouthillier. Her daughter, Thérèse Canivet married Henri Chenard in 1775. Angnès LeBouthillier married Jacques Morais, also a grantee.³²⁵

Michel Parisé married Marie Albert in 1768. Marie had Indian blood because her grandmother was Angelique Giraud. Pierre Albert married Genevieve Denys in 1778. He had Indian blood because his grandmother was also Angelique Giraud.³²⁶

Genevieve Denys was the granddaughter of Richard Denys and his Mi'kmaq wife. She also had Mi'kmaq blood on her mother's side. Her maternal grandmother was a Mi'kmaq.³²⁷

5.19. Cultural Differences Among the Grantees

Ganong states that by the late 1700s "[i]t may be said that it [Caraquet] is partly Norman French, with an infusion of local Indian, partly Canadian, and partly Acadian, with a small element of English (later on) and Jersey French".³²⁸

Haines suggests that the Acadians settled at Upper Caraquet and the others at Lower Caraquet "in communities so distinct that even some fifty years later there still had been no marriage between Acadians and their Norman-Canadian neighbours".³²⁹ Ganong also makes the distinction between the two and that Acadians remained separated from the Norman Settlers who intermarried with Indians. It is interesting to note that these two groups applied for the land together despite the fact that they were so separate and settled in separate parts of Caraquet. A missionary commissioned by the Bishop in Quebec to report on the state of the church in Acadia described certain differences between residents in the two areas. This missionary (who we do not have a name for) commented that Lower Caraquet inhabitants (who were "Normans et métisses") were fishermen and thus out at sea a lot and did not attend church very regularly. The Upper Caraquet group of "Acadians" were farmers and could go to church much more often.³³⁰

³²⁵ E-1 *Ibid.*

³²⁶ E-1 *Ibid.*

³²⁷ Please consult Key Document E-1 for genealogies on the rest of the grantees and their wives. It was not possible to locate information that specifically states the percentage of people of the first generation with mixed-ancestry. Nor was it possible to locate information about the percentage of the second generation of people of mixed-ancestry. Moreover, because only the names of those with mixed ancestry are available, it is not possible to provide accurate percentages. This could be a direction for future research.

³²⁸ H-7 Ganong, *The History of Caraquet and Pokemouche*, 110.

³²⁹ H-10 Haines, "The Acadian Settlement," 26-27.

³³⁰ John Jennings, *Tending the Flock: Bishop Joseph-Octave Plessis and Roman Catholics in early 19th century New Brunswick* (Saint John: Diocese of Saint John, 1998).

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5.19.1. Acadian Culture

Haines and others claim that there is not much written information on Acadian social life and that an in-depth study would be impossible. Furthermore, most contemporary accounts of Acadians in the 18th century were written by outsiders. And the reliability of English accounts is often affected by colonial biases.

According to Haines, before the Loyalists arrived, the Acadians in northeastern New Brunswick had little contact with the outside world except through traders, and they did not make contact with other groups.³³¹ Haines claimed that they perceived themselves as distinct from other non-Acadian groups such as the group of Normans and mixed-ancestry people.³³² Haines feels that the Acadians held the Norman and mixed-ancestry group in contempt. Haines bases his claim on the writing of Bishop Plessis. In his journal, Plessis wrote about the questionable morals, and miscegenation of those in Lower Caraquet (the Normans and mixed-ancestry group).³³³ For example, Plessis stated, “Le haut de la paroisse est pur, mais le bas est en moins bonne renommée. Les habitants de cette partie sont plus exposés à sortir et à entretenir des liaisons avec ceux de Paspébiac situé au nord de la baie des Chaleurs et mal notés sur les articles du luxe et des mœurs”.³³⁴

5.19.2. Culture of the Normans and Canadians in Lower Caraquet

Bishop Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, who made a pastoral visit to Caraquet in 1811, commented on the people there. According to Ganong, Plessis, in his journal, states, that “the moral laxity, miscegenation and irreverence of the Norman-Canadian inhabitants of the village of Lower Caraquet goes far to explain the contempt in which Acadians held the former”.³³⁵ The distinction between Acadians and their Norman Canadian neighbors was still evident at the beginning of the 20th century, neither group wishing to associate itself with the other in 1907 when Ganong wrote his history of Caraquet.³³⁶

Plessis also commented on the residents of Paspébiac:

Les premier habitants de Paspébiac s'étant alliés à des sauvagesses, toute la colonie formée par leur descendants a une portion de sang sauvage, ce qui met entre eux et les autres habitants de la Baie des Chaleurs une différence capitale. Ceux du bas de la paroisse de Caraquet partagent cette ignominie; les étrangers, les Acadiens

³³¹ H-10 Haines, “The Acadian Settlement, 26-27.

³³² H-10 *Ibid.*

³³³ H-10 *Ibid.*

³³⁴ F-3 Bishop Joseph Octave Plessis, “Journal des deux voyages apostoliques dans le Golfe Saint-Laurent et les provinces d'en bas, en 1811 et 1812,” *Le Foyer Canadien*, (1865), 108-109. Translation: “The upper part of the parish is pure stock, but the lower part is in less good repute. The inhabitants of this part are more likely to venture abroad and to make contacts with the people of Paspébiac, situated along the north of the Baie de Chaleur, and the have a bad reputation as to articles of luxury and customs.”

³³⁵ H-6 Ganong. “History of Caraquet,” 91-114.

³³⁶ H-6 Ganong. “History of Caraquet.”

surtouts, se croiraient déshonorés en s'alliant à ces descendants de sauvages, et ne les regardent qu'avec un certain mépris.³³⁷

Various reasons have been offered through time about the distinction, which was maintained between Acadians and other French-speaking residents in the northeast. "Writing on this theme over half a century after Plessis, Pascal Poirier stated that to Acadians 's'allier à une famille qui a une portion de sang sauvage, est à leur yeux une ignomine.'³³⁸ Another explanation is that "French Canadians" and "Acadians" did not come from the same region of France.ⁱ

Whatever the reason, "Acadians" and "French Canadian" did not want to be identified with the other.³³⁹ Acadians were more concerned with their relationship with the "English". Official interest in Acadians began to decrease. Acadians in the Baie de Chaleur and Miramichi areas were not included in an official Census in 1771, which they had been apart of in 1760.³⁴⁰

5.20. The Mixed Norman-Indian Group: A Summary

It is difficult to know for certain if the Norman-Indian ancestral group in Lower Caraquet identified themselves as a culturally distinct group. Though from at least the early 1720s until the late 1780s evidence suggests largely endogamous marriage practices where the Norman-Indian group in Lower Caraquet married only within their group or with those with similar ancestry on the north shore of the Baie de Chaleur. It is not known what they called themselves, but others referred to them (on Census records, and elsewhere) as "Normands et métisses."³⁴¹ There is evidence that the Acadians did not want to mix with them and that they remained quite separated for at least a century. In the 1784 petition for land with the Nova Scotia government, author François Gionnest groups all settlers in Caraquet into one group by signing his letter "les abbitant (sic) de Caraquet".

It is also difficult to know when the group of mixed Norman and Indians first emerged. The first official document of them acting together as a group (along with other Acadians and Canadians) was in 1784, when they all applied for land with the Nova Scotia government. However, it was a while before that the Norman fishermen and soldiers began marrying Indians and having children with them.

We also do not have concrete information as to the geographic territory this mixed-ancestry group occupied other than that of their individual land grants within the "Grande Grant". They lived in

³³⁷ Bishop Plessis Journal quoted and translated in: H-10 Haines, "The Acadian Settlement," 129. Translation: The first inhabitants of Paspébiac would go to the Indian women; the entire colony formed by their descendents who had some Indian blood. There was a capital difference between them and other inhabitants of the Bay de Chaleur. Those of the lower part of the parish of Caraquet took part in this dishonour, the Acadians considered it disgraceful to be with Indians and regarded them (mixed ancestry people) with a certain contempt.

³³⁸ Pascal Poirier, "Origine des Acadiens", *Revue Canadienne* 12 (1875), 462. Translation: To go to a family with a portion of Indian blood was, in their eyes, a disgrace.

³³⁹ H-10 Haines, "The Acadian Settlement." (The author obtained this from PANB, RNA, Land Petition, Northumberland County, Petition No. 221, Joseph Thibodeau, John Hébert, Pierre Blauson, Benjamin Blausom, Antoine Blauson, Paul Doucet, Villeroy Doucet, and Jean Baptiste Blauson, Oct. 6, 1789.)

³⁴⁰ Bona Arsenault, *Histoire et Généalogie des Acadiens*, 299-300.

³⁴¹ 1670 census located in Paris, referred to in H-10 Haines, "The Acadian Settlement," 12.

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Lower Caraquet while the Acadians lived in Upper Caraquet. It is known for certain that some relatives of the Norman-Indians also lived in Shippegan and in the Gaspé region. Thus there may have been social and economic connections between these areas.

As far as it was possible to discern from the limited literature on the separate groups within the “Grande Grant”, there was really only one mixed-ancestry group, those of mixed Norman and Indian ancestries. They appear to have formed a separate community from their Acadian and Canadian neighbours.

If the group of “Normans et métisses” had distinct cultural customs, they have not been found in secondary or primary sources. There is no mention of distinct customs in Ganong’s history on Caraquet, and Ganong provides the most indepth study of Caraquet. In terms of primary sources, Plessis writes about how residents of Caraquet went to church, were fishermen, but there is nothing really unique about their recorded activities. The “Grande Grant” and related land documents do not indicate any distinct cultural customs either. However, we still cannot make any definitive statements about their distinctiveness of their culture because there simply has not been enough written or recorded about this group of Normans and Indians.

5.21. Infrastructure Development in the early days of New Brunswick

The first sheriff for Northumberland County (part of the study area) was Benjamin Marston. In his diary he writes about his post as Sheriff. In June 1785, he wrote, “Having no employment at St. John of any kind have accepted some appointments [as sheriff] in the new county of Northumberland...”³⁴² In August of the same year, Marston wrote, “They [the people in Miramichi] want two things – law to keep them in order and Gospel to give them some better information than they seem to have...”³⁴³.

The northeastern quarter of New Brunswick became Northumberland County on July 10th, 1785.³⁴⁴ It was not until 1827 that portions of the county became Gloucester (which would include Bathurst and Allardville) and Kent. Later, part of Gloucester became Restigouche County (which would include Saint-Quentin).³⁴⁵ Northumberland County took over responsibility for public services, such as roads, bridges, the poor, orphans, county buildings, etc. It collected taxes among other duties. The County obtained a means to exercise local government through the early appointment of Justices of the Peace, which the local residents had petitioned for in 1785.

In 1786, an additional feature was introduced into trade in the Miramichi region. Cooney states that in this year, “Mr. Davidson commenced working two saw-mills he had erected on one of the tributaries of the North West; and several loyalists and disbanded soldiers settled on lands they obtained from Government”.³⁴⁶

³⁴² F-1 PANB, MF# F10215, Diary of Benjamin Marston, in Winslow Papers 1778-1878.

³⁴³ F-1 *Ibid.*

³⁴⁴ See B-1 for the evolution of county boundaries in New Brunswick.

³⁴⁵ See B-1 for the evolution of county boundaries in New Brunswick.

³⁴⁶ H-3 Cooney, *A Compendious History*, 47.

The local government met for the first time in the "Court of the Quarter Sessions" at Beaubairs Point, Township of Newcastle on September 15, 1789.³⁴⁷ The English also brought missionaries and a mission school was opened in the Miramichi area in 1788 by the Protestant missionary Reverend James Fraser. The colonial government, between 1789 and 1876, gradually developed information and implemented direct governance in the study region.

5.22. Population Patterns in the 18th Century

"In 1780, [what would become] New Brunswick was a forested land little altered by the hand of man."³⁴⁸ The province's Indians were small in number and mainly nomadic hunters and fishers.³⁴⁹ In the study region, as well as in Passamaquoddy Bay, in the southwest corner of the province, there were few signs of human habitation. However, at the head of the Bay of Fundy (south of study region) the 500 or so Acadians and twice as many English-speaking settlers had a greater impact upon the landscape.³⁵⁰ "In the middle reaches of the St. John valley, commencing some 60 or 70 miles upstream, perhaps 1250 English-speaking settlers and 350 Acadians had established homes and farms. Nowhere were clearings more extensive or dwellings very elaborate."³⁵¹ Thus, in 1780, the study area remained mainly undeveloped compared to the southern and western parts of New Brunswick.

At the close of the 18th century the newly created province of New Brunswick looked quite different than it had a century ago. According to historical geographer Graham Wynn,³⁵² "in 1787, Surveyor General George Sproule's survey of the river between Fredericton and Madawaska traced a thin, broken ribbon of settlement along both banks as far as Pine Island, a little above the present Woodstock".³⁵³ Most of the Loyalists remained downriver from Fredericton. Elsewhere (outside of the southwest corner of the province), the Loyalist impact was minimal. "Many of those awarded grants on the Miramichi left almost immediately; possibly a hundred Loyalists (20-25 families) remained among a larger population of Acadians and English-speaking fisherman in 1785."³⁵⁴ Many of the 800 plus Loyalists who had gathered at Fort Cumberland in 1784 obtained land grants in Nova Scotia. The hundred or so who settled in New Brunswick gathered in Sackville, Dorchester, and along the Memramcook and Peticodiac Rivers, all south of the study region and close to Nova Scotia.³⁵⁵

By the 1790s, the lands along the banks of the North West and the Little South West Rivers (near Miramichi), which Mi'kmaq bands had occupied for centuries, were falling into the hands of the new settlers and the Indians were struggling to maintain their villages, such as Red Bank. As the population

³⁴⁷ Arbuckle, *The Northwest Miramichi*, 18.

³⁴⁸ H-20 Wynn, "Population Patterns," 125.

³⁴⁹ H-20 *Ibid.*

³⁵⁰ H-20 *Ibid.*

³⁵¹ H-20 *Ibid.*, 126.

³⁵² The author here looks at population patterns and cultural geography of New Brunswick in its early days (1784 to 1867) and provides various maps. (See H-20 for more information.)

³⁵³ H-20 Wynn, "Population Patterns," 126.

³⁵⁴ H-20 *Ibid.*, 127.

³⁵⁵ H-20 *Ibid.*

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grew and the economy expanded in the last decades of the 18th century, Indians found themselves to be increasingly neglected and powerless in Atlantic Canada.³⁵⁶

5.23. New Brunswick – A Complex Treaty History

The history of Indian lands in New Brunswick is quite complicated because there were no treaties signed between the Indians and the Crown after New Brunswick became a separate government in 1784. Before New Brunswick became a province, the study region was located at quite a distance from the government, which was then in Halifax. Thus, treaties, while they applied to the study region, were not signed in the study region. The first Treaty that was signed between the various Indian groups in Atlantic Canada and the British authorities in 1725 (usually referred to as the Treaty of Boston) was a Treaty of Peace and Friendship that was discussed in Section 5.3.2. Three years later, the Treaty, ratified in Nova Scotia (which at that time included present-day New Brunswick), acknowledged British jurisdiction over the territory but it also recognized that various Indian groups were living in the colony. This Treaty, like several others signed between the 1740s and 1760s recognized that the Indians occupied particular districts or river systems and the government promised that they would not be disturbed by European settlement.

New Brunswick was not created as a separate political entity until 1784. Prior to that, it was a part of the much larger colony of Nova Scotia, which extended at various times from Cape Breton to the borders of Maine and Quebec. The Mi'kmaq and Maliseet in New Brunswick were directly affected by many and various treaties negotiated with British representatives in Nova Scotia as well as those in Maine and Massachusetts. In fact, "A Written Joint Assessment of Historical Materials Collected, Reviewed and Analysed by Treaty and Fisheries Policy Branch, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, and the MAWIW District Council Relative to Dummer's Treaty of 1725 and all Other Related or Relevant Maritime Treaties and Treaty Negotiations" concluded that many of the treaties not "specially executed" by the Maliseets and Mi'kmaq of New Brunswick or their delegates were "nevertheless intended by the British to apply to those same Indians".³⁵⁷ Further, one must also remember that New Brunswick was governed mainly by the Loyalists and, as a new province it lacked the long history of working with Indian as Nova Scotia did.

5.24. Indian Land Issues in New Brunswick in the 1700s and early 1800s

One can glimpse a view of the history of the Indian land title in New Brunswick from a review of the licences of occupation, and in particular from a short book by W.D. Hamilton that examines in some detail the Julian Tribe of Mi'kmaq, the ancestral tribe of the Red Bank and Eel Ground Indian Bands in the study region. While Hamilton does not claim that the history of land titles in Northumberland

³⁵⁶ W.D. Hamilton, 'Indian Lands in New Brunswick. The Case of the Little South West Reserve, *Acadiensis* 13, 2 (Spring 1984), 8-9, 12.

³⁵⁷ See *We Should Walk in the Track Mr. Dummer Made*, A Written Joint Assessment of Historical Materials Collected, Reviewed and Analysed by Treaty and Fisheries Policy Branch, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, and the MAWIW District Council Relative to Dummer's Treaty of 1725 and all Other Related or Relevant Maritime Treaties and Treaty Negotiations, Submitted to the New Brunswick's Chiefs' Forum on Treaty Issues, 1992. See pages 23-4, 31-4, and 90.

County can be applied to the whole province, what transpired along the Miramichi River is instructive in understanding the early relations between Indians and the early colonial governments in New Brunswick.³⁵⁸

The Mi'kmaq along the Miramichi River had had a long association with the French before the area was opened up to English settlement in the 1760s. John Julian³⁵⁹ became the new Chief in July 1779, and he subsequently led a delegation to Halifax. Michael Franklin, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Halifax, negotiated a Treaty with the Julian delegation who promised to protect British subjects and their property in the future. In exchange, Franklin presented them with gifts, assured them that they would be supplied by traders in exchange for furs, and that their rights would continue to be protected. The Mi'kmaq were promised land grants which were not issued until 1783, when Julian led another delegation to Halifax. Then on August 30th, 1783, Governor John Parr of Nova Scotia granted a licence of occupation to John Julian and his tribe for a 20,000-acre parcel of land lying along either side of the North West River. At the same time, Parr granted a commission of appointment to John Julian as "Chief, or Sachem, in and over the Indians of the River Miramichy".³⁶⁰ The first licence of occupation granted to Chief John Julian on both sides of the Miramichi River declared that:

Licence is hereby granted unto John Julian Chief over the Indians of the River Merimichy and its dependencies, for himself and his Tribe to occupy during pleasure, a Tract of land situate ... hereby warning all persons whatever not to molest or interrupt the said John Julian and his said Tribe in the quiet and peaceable possession thereof.³⁶¹

However, the new colonial government of New Brunswick established in 1784 did not recognize the licences issued by the government of Nova Scotia and Chief John Julian had to seek confirmation of the licence of occupation. There were many in Fredericton, the colonial capital, who were not pleased with the land grants made to the Indians by the governor of Nova Scotia. Although Fredericton had entered a copy of the Parr licence in their register of grants made by the Government of Nova Scotia, the terms of the licence were not honoured by them and no confirmation of the original land grant was issued. Further, the land grant overlapped with that awarded earlier to Davidson who had returned to re-occupy his land (see the discussion about Davidson and the Cort Grant in 1765 in Section 5.7.2). The licence of occupation to Julian was made more tenuous by the arrival of the Loyalists.³⁶²

When Julian attempted to collect payment in 1785 from Davidson's tenants for hay cut on the Indian lands, he discovered that the Davidson grant took precedence. Even though the Davidson grant was revoked in the early 1790s – because he had not fulfilled the settlement obligations – the most

³⁵⁸ W.D. Hamilton, *The Julian Tribe* (Fredericton: Centennial Print & Lith., 1984), 3–47.

³⁵⁹ No indication has been found to date that Chief John Julian was of mixed ancestry. One cannot be certain as to why he had an English name.

³⁶⁰ Hamilton, *The Julian Tribe*, 7–8.

³⁶¹ Licence of Occupation to Indians of Miramichi, 13 August 1783, PANS, RG 20, Series C, vol. 95, reproduced in W.D. Hamilton and W.A. Spray, eds., *Source Materials relating to the New Brunswick Indian* (Fredericton, 1976), 59.

³⁶² Hamilton, *The Julian Tribe*, 9.

valuable land which the Indians claimed was granted to Loyalists and other settlers. However, a licence for 3,033 acres was issued on January 10, 1789 in the name of John Julian, Chief of the Miramichi Indians at Eel Ground.³⁶³

Hamilton also refers to a Treaty between "King John Julian" and an emissary of King George III of England. According to Mi'kmaq tradition, Captain William Milne of the HMS *Brunswick* met with Julian at the Miramichi on June 17, 1794.³⁶⁴ The Treaty was in the possession of Peter N. Julian of Eel Ground and although written in Mi'kmaq, it was signed by "King John Julian and King George II, per Wm Milan."³⁶⁵ The Treaty promised that the two sides would not quarrel and that the King promised to provide for "you and the future generations so long as the sun rises and the river flows."³⁶⁶ It also granted a tract of land a distance of six miles from Little South West on both sides and six miles at North West on both sides of the river.³⁶⁷

When the Government of New Brunswick undertook the first extensive land survey of Northumberland County in 1804 bore little semblance to the original grant by Governor Parr in 1783. The original grant provided for 20,000 acres but the reserve laid out in 1804 was a 10,000-acre lot. However, the survey did set aside nearly 20,000 acres for the Miramichi Indians in four blocks: Little South West (Red Bank), 10,000 acres; Indian Point (Sunny Corner), 750 acres; Big Hole (Sevogle), 8,750 acres; and Sevogle Meadows, 200 acres.³⁶⁸

What follows is a summary of the licences of occupation granted in New Brunswick from 1794 to 1811:

Table 2 – Summary of Licences of Occupation*

Name	Procedure	Acres
Eel Ground	1789 Licence of Occupation	3033
Big Hole	1805 Licence of Occupation	8700
Indian Point	1805 Licence of Occupation	760
Red Bank	1807 Licence of Occupation	11014
Richibucto (Big Cave)	1802 Licence of Occupation	51200 then reduced to 6000 Acres in 1824
Tabusintac	1802 Licence of Occupation	9035
Burnt Church Point	1802 Licence of Occupation	1400

³⁶³ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁴ "Copy of Treaty Made With Micmacs of Miramichi," *The Northshore Leader*, 3 April 1931: Newcastle, cited in *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

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Buctouche	1802 Certification by Provincial	64 sq. miles Government lands "reserved for the use of said Indians".
Buctouche	1810 Licence of Occupation	3500 (remnants of 64 sq. miles)
Pokemouche	1810 Licence of Occupation	4000 1811 reduced by Order of Executive Council 2600
Pabineau	1809 Incomplete grant by Executive	2560 (1000 acres Council De facto Occupation acknowledged in 1838 and 1842 Schedules of Indian Reserves)

*Indian settlements in the study region are in bold.

The Minutes of Council of September 24th, 1808 which confirmed the establishment of reserves at Eel Ground, Big Hole, Indian Point, Red Bank, Tabusintac, Burnt Church Point, and Burnt Church River, ordered that a "licence of occupation be given to the Indians."³⁶⁹ It appears that the reserves were set aside at Renous, Eel River and Aboushagan because the Mi'kmaq already occupied the land.³⁷⁰

Indians in New Brunswick received their reserve lands as grants from the colonial government. If they wanted land they had to apply for it. On August 2nd, 1779, the Nova Scotia government (which was responsible for New Brunswick until 1784) issued a land grant of 704 acres along the Saint John River. The land was not provided for by Treaty or through surrender but granted to the Indians "to occupy and possess during pleasure."³⁷¹ There was rarely any precise calculations of the amount of land and since the land was reserved simply by right of occupancy; the acreage was often indeterminate. The first listing of reserve land was not published until 1831; it identified 15 reserves ranging in area from 10 to 16,000 acres. Northumberland County had 33,193 acres reserved, Kent 8,000 and Gloucester 4,000, all of which were in the study region.³⁷²

In 1792, lands were also given at the mouth of the Madawaska River and along the St. John River for one and one-half miles (St. Basile), but it is not clear that grants for these parcels were ever issued.³⁷³

The licences of occupations for Indians stood in contrast to the Treaty arrangements made elsewhere in Canada for Indians. The licence was not a grant in fee simple but a licence to occupy and possess the land at the pleasure of the Crown; the land remained Crown land and was not to be sold or otherwise alienated by the Indians who occupied it. Most of the licences were issued between 1783 and 1810, but no more than 100,000 acres, about one-half of one percent of the land area of the province, was under licence at any one time.³⁷⁴

³⁶⁹ Upton, "Indian Affairs in Colonial New Brunswick," 5.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

³⁷² *Ibid.*

³⁷³ Richard Bartlett, *Indian Reserves in the Atlantic Provinces of Canada* (Saskatoon, 1986).

³⁷⁴ See, *New Brunswick Assembly Journal*, 1838, Appendix "Schedule of Indian Reserves"; P.A. Cumming and N.H. Mickenberg, eds., *Native Rights in Canada*, 2nd ed (Toronto, 1972); and Alexander Morris, ed., *The Treaties of Canada* (Toronto, 1971).

5.25. Indian Assimilation at the end of the 1700s

Following the policies adopted elsewhere in North America, the colonial authorities in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia believed that Indians had to adapt to the European way of life and turn to agriculture. In British-controlled Atlantic Canada it was equally important that they embrace Protestantism and British civilization.³⁷⁵ One indication of this policy and approach was the transfer of an Anglican missionary project, the New England Company, from Massachusetts to New Brunswick in 1785. Eight mission schools were established to teach the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet to settle down, turn to farming, and go regularly to church. Consequently, in 1815 the Surveyor General objected to grants of lands to Indian groups and families as they often sold the land without any settlement or farming. Instead, he suggested, lands should be set aside as reserves for Indian use "in such situations as they have been in the habit of frequenting".³⁷⁶

As the population grew and the economy expanded in the last decades of the 18th century, the Indians found themselves further marginalized in Atlantic Canada, including in the study area. The Europeans not only disrupted the Mi'kmaq access to resources such as timber and fish but they competed with them for such animals as moose and caribou.³⁷⁷ Titus Smith, who toured eastern and northern Nova Scotia in 1801 and 1802, noted that the Mi'kmaq have "as strong a prejudice against our way of living as we can have against theirs".³⁷⁸ The Crown did not provide the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet with financial support or with land that would have provided them with a decent living. In 1800, when the state realized something had to be done to deal with the abject poverty, the Nova Scotia government voted £350 "for the rescue of our wretched fellow creatures"³⁷⁹ with the intention that they would be converted from their Indian ways to European ways. Even that meager support was short-lived and it did not lead to any land being surveyed for the Indians nor was there any sustained financial support forthcoming. However, when tensions rose in Anglo-American relations and war seemed imminent, the state acted to deal with the "Indian problem", not out of concern for the Indian population but simply out of pragmatic concern that the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet remain neutral in the event of war.³⁸⁰ Despite clear efforts toward assimilation, there remained strong and distinctive Indian cultures.

³⁷⁵ Judith Fingard, "The New England Company and the New Brunswick Indians, 1786-1826," *Acadiensis* 1 (2) (Spring 1972), 28-43.

³⁷⁶ Gould and Semple, *Our Land: The Maritimes*, 44-46.

³⁷⁷ Buckner and Reid, *The Atlantic Provinces to Confederation*, x-xvi.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 222. See note 29, 428.

³⁷⁹ PANS, RG1, vol 430, docs 33 1 /2, *Report of the Committee on the Conditions of the Indians*, 15 April 1800 and *Report of the Joint Committee* [1800].

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.* Please see the next section about the War of 1812 for more detail on what was done. It appears that some Indians in New Brunswick were about to meet with the Penobscot in the United States, but they were given relief funds in order not to side with the Americans.

6. Chapter Six – The 19th Century

6.1. The War of 1812

When Anglo-American relations became particularly tense before the War of 1812, Lieutenant Governor Hunter of New Brunswick considered the Indians a threat to the colony if they joined forces with the Americans. In 1808, he asked that the British government provide £500 a year for the occasional relief to Indians even though some land had already been allocated to them. London refused the request, and told the Lieutenant Governor to refer the matter to the local legislature, which should have been trying to convert the Indians to make them “a useful People of the Community.”³⁸¹ When war did finally come in 1812, the government was forced to act when reports arrived in Fredericton that the Indians of Saint John and the Penobscot in the United States were about to meet. The colonial government provided money for the Indians of Saint John, Charlotte County, and Kingsclear, near Fredericton. Not surprisingly, once the crisis passed the contingency funds for Indian relief disappeared, but the principle of providing relief to the Indians had been clearly established, and it was often the routine response of the government to deal with the Indian “problem”.

6.2. Land Granting Policy in the Early 1800s

According to the instructions issued by the imperial authorities in London after the British Conquest, any land grants issued in the colony could not include any land that was either occupied or used by “Indians”. This policy was to govern the granting of land patents for many decades. In 1815, Charles Morris, the Colony’s Surveyor General, reported to Lieutenant Governor Sir John Sherbrooke that he had instructed those surveyors under his authority to avoid Indian villages, burial grounds, and any land used by Indians when they were surveying Crown land for land grant holders. Morris wrote:

I beg leave to assure your Excellency that in order to carry into effect the benevolent intentions of Government in securing for the Indians of this Province, their usual haunts for taking Fish, and situations for Planting Corn and Vegetables & the most decided and peremptory orders have been given to all my Deputies in the different Counties not (on my account) to presume to admeasure and lay out any Lands that might in any degree interfere with their claims or settlements.³⁸²

6.3. Population Demographics in the 1800s in New Brunswick

According to historical geographer Graeme Wynn, “Our most detailed information about population numbers and distributions at the turn of the century comes from the series of reports collected from important individuals in each district of the province by the prominent Loyalist Edward Winslow.”³⁸³

³⁸¹ Upton, “Indian Affairs in Colonial New Brunswick,” 4-5.

³⁸² PANS, RG1 vol. 430, item 151, Charles Morris to Lt. Gov. Sherbrooke, 7 March 1815.

³⁸³ H-20 Wynn, “Population Patterns,” 125. Wynn states that “Not all of the returns survive; the quality and accuracy of the ones that do varies greatly. Delay, confusion and administrative inadequacies rendered the 1861 New Brunswick return inconsistent and inaccurate; there is no reason to suspect that the province’s four

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"At the turn of the century, the distribution of New Brunswick's 25,000 people was much the same as in 1785, although farms were more numerous and clearing had proceeded."³⁸⁴ By 1803, a million acres of Crown Land had been granted, and at least a thousand families lived on land without title to it.³⁸⁵ According to Wynn, in 1810, there were about 3,000 Mi'kmaq in the Atlantic Region in 1810.³⁸⁶ Despite the efforts of Indians to maintain their distinctive culture and traditional way of life, the various churches continued to work toward bringing the Indian people to a modern way of life. In the early 1800s, Catholic missionaries tried, with little success, to have the Mi'kmaq settle in Indian farm villages at St. Ann on Chapel Island in Lake Bras d'Or, Lennox Island, and Burnt Church on the Miramichi River. Likewise, the Anglican Church failed at Sussex Vale, New Brunswick to get the Indians to abandon their traditional way of life, despite opening a school at the mission in 1787. Later, Indians were encouraged by Catholic missionaries to apprentice their children with European families in return to an annual gift of cloth and a small weekly cash allowances. The European families received £20 a year to feed and clothe the children, but, like the other initiatives at acculturation, these measures also failed.³⁸⁷

In the first half of the 19th century the Indian population of Atlantic Canada decreased steadily as disease took an increasing toll. By 1840, fewer than 3,000 Indians lived in the area. In Nova Scotia, the Census revealed a population of 1,524 Mi'kmaq lived there while an additional 1,377 Mi'kmaq and Maliseet lived in New Brunswick. Most of the bands survived by hunting, selling crafts and by casual labour.

In the early decades of the 19th century, large sections of Indian land was either sold or leased to non-Indians. This was often done by the Chiefs for personal gain. For example, in 1838, the Julian Tribe on the Miramichi River leased a section of land to lumberman James Holmes for £60 and £1 annually. Moses H. Perley, New Brunswick Indian Commissioner, claimed in 1841 that Barnaby Julian had received nearly £2,000 in money and goods for leases and rents.³⁸⁸ The leases were, in fact, deeds and once leased, were freely conveyable without further involvement of the Mi'kmaq.³⁸⁹ At the same time, there was considerable pressure on the government to make the Indian reserves available for settlement to the newcomers. In 1838, the legislative assembly proposed the sale at public auction of certain Indian tracts in Kent Country, and followed suit with some of the reserves in Northumberland County.³⁹⁰ Although the Indians complained about the proposed sale, the government believed that disposing of the land would benefit the Indians. The government realized, of course, that the creation of special funds for the Indians with the proceeds from land sales would lessen the demand on the colonial treasury (see Section 6.7 below). Moreover, large numbers of

earlier Censuses of 1824, 1834, 1840 and 1851 were any more precise. Nonetheless, for all their inadequacies, these maps chart the expansion of settlement during seventy-five years in which the New Brunswick landscape was transformed." The Surviving returns are in the Winslow Papers, University of New Brunswick Archives. (See Key Document H-20.)

³⁸⁴ H-20 *Ibid.*, 127.

³⁸⁵ H-20 *Ibid.*

³⁸⁶ The Surviving returns are in the Winslow Papers, University of New Brunswick Archives.

³⁸⁷ W.D. Hamilton, "Indian Lands in New Brunswick: The Case of the Little Southwest Reserve," *Acadiensis* 13, No. 2 (Spring 1984): 3-28.

³⁸⁸ Hamilton, *The Julian Tribe*, 25.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁰ PANB, *New Brunswick Assembly Journal* 1838, 188; and *New Brunswick Assembly Journal* 1840, 144.

settlers had simply squatted on Indian reserves and if the lands were sold by the government, they would be able to legitimize the squatters' claims to the land.³⁹¹

Wynn states that, "At the census of 1824 New Brunswick was home to 74,176 people."³⁹² He goes on to write that,

Settlement had spread up the St. John Valley to the Grand Falls and beyond. Below Woodstock numbers had also increased. Northumberland was the most populous county in the province, although overall population densities in this area remained low. Settlement was still largely confined to the banks of the rivers and larger streams, and farms varied enormously in size.³⁹³

It appears that "Indians" were ethnically identified in the 1824 Census. For example,

The first three [Census] acts - 1824, 1834, and 1840 - were virtually identical. They instructed the Justices of the Peace in each county to appoint one or more enumerators for each civil parish. If a parish had more than one enumerator, then the parish was to be divided into districts. The enumerators were to count the number of people of each sex, age group, and race, and return their figures to the county's Clerk of the Peace. No fixed date was specified to conduct the Census, but December 1 was the deadline for returning the forms. The acts only required aggregate figures for each parish and did not make any explicit demand for a list of names of inhabitants.³⁹⁴

The Fourth Question asked "How many Persons (including Children of whatever age) are there actually found within the limits of your City, Parish or District, at the time of taking this ac- county, distinguishing Males and Females, and Persons above and under sixteen years of age, and People of Colour, and exclusive of Men actually serving in His Majesty's Regular Forces, and of Seamen either in His Majesty's Service or belong to Registered Vessels, and of Native Indians?"³⁹⁵ Thus, it appears that ethnic identification in the 1824 Census included "Native Indians".

³⁹¹ Hamilton, "Indian Lands in New Brunswick," 14. Hamilton does not list a source for this information. In 1844, the New Brunswick Assembly proclaimed the bill "An Act to Regulate the Management and Disposal of Indian Reserves in this Province." The Act noted in its preamble that the large tracts of valuable land reserved for the Indians prohibited the settlement of the province, and it was clear that the legislature was more concerned with opening the reserves for settlement than with proposals for the better treatment of Indians. Still, the Act created a special fund to be used for the relief of indigent and infirm Indians, and for the provision of agricultural implements and seeds. Within two years, 10 lots at Eel Ground and 12 lots at Indian Point were sold at government auction.

³⁹² H-20 Wynn, "Population Patterns," 128.

³⁹³ H-20 *Ibid.*

³⁹⁴ Craig Walsh, "1824, 1834, 1840 Censuses of New Brunswick," New Brunswick Census Legislation 1824 - 1861, <http://webhome.idirect.com/~cpwalsh/nb/censusacts.htm#1824>. (March 20, 2005) Note: This website uses primary source census data for example: 1824 Census Act Statutes of New Brunswick. 5 George IV, Chapter 21 (Passed March 11, 1824).

³⁹⁵ New Brunswick. *Acts of the General Assembly of His Majesty's Province of New-Brunswick, Passed in the Year 1824*. Fredericton: George K. Lugin, King's Printer, 1824, 46 - 53.

Around 1827, there were about 200,000 acres of cleared agricultural land in the province. At this time St. John had about 1,800 families and Fredericton had about 300 families. Miramichi and St. Croix had much smaller populations. "Generally, too, cleared acreages were greater in the fertile St. John Valley and in Westmorland County than in Northumberland and Charlotte Counties."³⁹⁶

"By 1834, the provincial population was 119,457. New counties and parishes had been created; settlers had moved to unoccupied land in the older areas of settlement, and taken up new lands beyond the former limits. Although there was more cleared land, farms with over fifty acres available for cultivation were still unusual."³⁹⁷ In 1840, the population of 156,162 had cleared about 436,000 acres. Less than 15% of this total was in Northumberland, Kent, Gloucester and Restigouche counties (our study area). In 1840, Saint John had almost one eighth of the total population of the province and Fredericton had 4002 residents, being the only other urban area in the province.³⁹⁸ Wynn describes the Miramichi area in the early 1830s:

Newcastle had perhaps 150-200 houses (1000-1500 people) and nearby Douglastown was approximately a third as large. Chatham, with some 200 houses, included several mercantile establishments, a printing office, post office, reading room; and market hall.³⁹⁹

By about 1850, there were 193,800 people living in New Brunswick. Ten percent of the provincial population lived in southwestern New Brunswick at mid-century. Saint John was still the largest town with about one sixth of the total population and Fredericton had grown by 10% and was the province's second largest town. In this region, agriculture was second to lumbering and sawmilling. The colonial economy was strong, based primarily on timber and spin-off industries such as shipbuilding. The province had close trading ties with the United States.⁴⁰⁰

In the southeast, the Acadians and English-speaking settlers had a diverse economy. Westmorland County was most known for its agriculture and grazing, but people also built ships, cut ton-timber, sawed lumber, and quarried gypsum and grindstone.⁴⁰¹

In contrast, along the Gulf shore and in the northwest (part of the study region), settlement was generally confined to the coast and the tidal reaches of the rivers, and on the Baie de Chaleur. Bathurst, with perhaps five or six hundred people, was the major town on the Baie de Chaleur. Further south in the study region, Chatham (in present-day Miramichi) had almost 3,000 residents and was an "important commercial [centre] of the second rank" after Saint John and Fredericton.⁴⁰²

In 1861, the provincial population was 252,047 and 30% greater than in 1851. In 1861, the population distribution was basically peripheral, with settlement especially creeping up the valleys of the Miramichi, Petitcodiac, Kennebecasis and the Saint John Rivers. In the 1860s, New Brunswick

³⁹⁶ H-20 Wynn, "Population Patterns."

³⁹⁷ H-20 *Ibid.*, 128-129.

³⁹⁸ H-20 *Ibid.*

³⁹⁹ H-20 *Ibid.*, 129.

⁴⁰⁰ H-20 *Ibid.*

⁴⁰¹ H-20 *Ibid.*

⁴⁰² H-20 *Ibid.*

had a population of approximately 270 000, concentrated mostly along the north shore (the study area) and throughout the Saint John River Valley. Those of English descent made up the majority of the population. There were also large minorities of "Acadians," "Irish," and "Scots". As well, many inhabitants traced their roots to the Loyalists who had come north during the American Revolution.⁴⁰³

In the 1871 Census, when New Brunswick had become a part of Canada, enumerators were told to enumerate "Indians" and "Half breeds/Métis," though "Métis" appears in the table to be the French word used for "Half breeds." Later, the 1881 Census recorded only "Indians", and not "Half breeds/Métis". Below are results of the 1871 Census:

Table 3 – 1871 Census⁴⁰⁴

Ethnicity	Population
Total Population:	285,594
"Indians":	1,403
"Half breeds/Métis":	0

In 1896, Cooney commented on the demographics of Northumberland County (part of the study region). He wrote,

The present French, or Acadian, inhabitants of this county, are principally from Cape Breton, Saint John's Island and Cumberland. The oldest settlement, independently of those founded by Enaud and Walker, is Caraquette.... [It] is rather an old settlement, the cause, perhaps, why its inhabitants particularly the women, exhibit more of the colour and features of the Micmac Indians, than is generally discernable in Acadians. This personal distinction, however, is also observable at Petit Roché, another French settlement father up the Bay; and there is little doubt, that the peculiarity in both cases, in the result of the early settlers intermarried with the savages.⁴⁰⁵

Thus, in the late 1800s, Cooney recognized a difference in the appearance of residents in Caraquet and Petit Roché in comparison to other Acadian villages. He felt that they resembled the Mi'kmaq in "colour and features".

6.4. 19th Century Changes for the Study Sites

The 19th century brought changes and development to the study sites of Bathurst and Miramichi. As well, this century brings the area of Saint-Quentin to historians' attention. It is the first time that there is mention of mixed marriages in the Saint-Quentin area in the historical record.

⁴⁰³ H-20 *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁴ Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Census of Canada, 1871. Ottawa, 1872.

⁴⁰⁵ H-3 Cooney, *A Compendious History*, 174.

While the first teacher in the Miramichi region is reported to have been Alexander Anderson (or Henderson), who taught Davidson's children on the Davidson and Cort land grant, formal education in New Brunswick did not begin until 1802. The first church in the Miramichi area was built before 1800. It was Presbyterian, started by the Church of Scotland, and located where there had been a European burial ground since the time of the first British settlers, at Miramichi (or Wilson's) Point. John Urquhart was the first minister.⁴⁰⁶

"In 1826, Gloucester, formerly part of Northumberland, was declared a separate county and the Shiretown was named after Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary."⁴⁰⁷ "In 1827 Sir Howard Douglas approved the town plan laid out by Marcus Scully."⁴⁰⁸ Also in 1827, the Bench of Magistrates was established and the Registry office opened. In 1828, William End became the first Clerk of the Peace. In 1830, the first post office was established in Mr. Disbrow's home. At this time the town began to develop rapidly.⁴⁰⁹

The settlement of Indian Point was later called Nepisiguit Village and then St. Peter's Village in the early 1800s. It was changed to Bathurst in 1828 by Sir Howard Douglas. The first marriage that was celebrated there is reported to have been that of Joseph Ache and a young Acadian girl named Cecile Petrie in 1801. There was no priest and none would arrive for another eight years. Thus, Sutherland and another settler, Hugh Munro, wrote up a document stating that it would be as though they were married. As the population increased, grist and lumber mills were built on almost every river around Bathurst. Shipbuilding, timber and also mining were important industries.⁴¹⁰

For the longest time in the Miramichi area, roads did not exist except for Mi'kmaq footpaths through the woods. In 1803, plans were made to open a road between the southwest Miramichi and Nashwaak rivers, which had been an old Indian portage of nineteen miles. In 1846, the road between Newcastle and Bathurst was considered. At the time it was only a bridle path or hay road. By 1832, roads in the Newcastle area were fit for carriages.⁴¹¹

In 1823, the Newcastle Post Office opened and there was a weekly stagecoach for mail and passengers between Dorchester and Miramichi; a year later, it also went to Bathurst. The first rail line to operate in the province was between Saint John and Shediac in 1860. In 1868, work began on the Neocolonial Railway that would link Halifax with Quebec and pass through Miramichi and Bathurst. It opened in 1875.⁴¹²

Pollak, Gilmour and Company, a lumber company in Scotland, sent Alexander Rankin and James Gilmour to the Miramichi in 1812 to begin a new branch of the company. The white pine trees in New Brunswick were valuable as masts for ships. In fact, such timber resources were reserved for the Crown for this purpose. This new business was set up in present day Douglastown, or Gretna Green, an old Scottish name. In 1832, the Commissioner and Surveyor General, Thomas Baillie, said that

⁴⁰⁶ Arbuckle, *The Northwest Miramichi*, 184.

⁴⁰⁷ H-13 Mersereau, "A History of Our Community."

⁴⁰⁸ H-13 *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁹ H-13 *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁰ Biggar, *Memories of Bathurst*, 20-24.

⁴¹¹ All road information from Arbuckle, *The Northwest Miramichi*, 103.

⁴¹² Arbuckle, *The Northwest Miramichi*, 128, 117.

early settlers were most interested in the timber trade instead of farming and cultivating the land.⁴¹³ Most of the men in the Miramichi region were involved in the lumber industry, including William Davidson. In the 1800s, there were many shipyards around the Miramichi and it was a busy port. As the population increased, so did the exporting of lumber and fish. Port wardens were appointed to control the dock and shipping.

The 1800s brought changes to Caraquet as well. The first missionary to work in Caraquet exclusively was Mr. Thomas Cooke who arrived in 1817.⁴¹⁴ In the same year, the first church (after the chapel of Ste-Anne-du Bocage) was built.⁴¹⁵ In addition, "[b]y the end of the 19th century, Caraquet occupied a very important place in the fishing industry of New Brunswick."⁴¹⁶

The "[e]arliest known 'English' residents [in Caraquet] were Harvey and Alexander Adams, who came from Scotland prior to 1817, and shipped timber to great Britain. After 1817, they removed to Restigouche."⁴¹⁷ Other residents that arrived in 1817 were Henry Forbes, a sailor from Ireland (who later went to the United States), and W.H. Munro, from Scotland, a prominent magistrate and storekeeper, grantee of Munro's Island. James Blackhall was later the most prominent of the English residents. He came to Halifax in 1812 from Aberdeen, Scotland. He came to the Baie de Chaleur and traded throughout its length. He became Justice of the Peace, Collector of Customs and Postmaster.⁴¹⁸ Many other English residents that Ganong talks about but he does not indicate that they intermarried with Indians as the Norman fishermen did in the last century (the 1700s).⁴¹⁹

During the 1800s, there was evidence of mixed marriages in the St. Basile and Madawaska regions, west of Saint Quentin, and also closer to the Restigouche River and Baie de Chaleur.⁴²⁰ No references of mixed marriages specifically in the Saint-Quentin area have been found.

In the St. Basile area, for example, Louis Bernard married Cecile in 1805. Cecile was listed as a "sauvagesse".⁴²¹ Marie Josephe Paul Kioret was baptized in 1822 at St. Basile, Madawaska. Her parents were Pail Kioret and François Laurent. Notes listed for this entry in the *Micmac and Maliseet Vital Statistics* state, "sauvage" mother a "Marichet" (Maliseet). This is interesting as Marie is listed as "sauvage" because her mother is a Maliseet Indian and Censuses of the time usually reckon descent along the patriline.⁴²²

No reference was found as to when these unions produced their first children. Though, as noted above, there was a baptism in 1822.⁴²³ Marie Josephe Paul Kioret was baptized in 1822 and thus, she

⁴¹³ Arbuckle, *The Northwest Miramichi*, 51.

⁴¹⁴ LeBreton, "Caraquet," 2.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁷ H-6 Ganong, "The History of Caraquet," 108.

⁴¹⁸ H-6 *Ibid* Note: Based on the references researched, it was not possible to determine these men had wives or families.

⁴¹⁹ H-6 *Ibid.*, 110.

⁴²⁰ A-1PANB, *Micmac and Maliseet Vital Statistics*, 35, 145.

⁴²¹ A-1 *Ibid*, 35.

⁴²² A-1 *Ibid*, 145.

⁴²³ A-1 *Ibid*.

could have been among the first children produced from mixed marriages in the St. Basile area (who was recorded as such).

6.5. Bishop Plessis' Pastoral Visit to the Maritimes

Pierre Denault was Bishop of Quebec from 1797 to 1806. In 1803, he made a pastoral visit to the missions of the Maritime colonies.⁴²⁴ He noted that there were roughly 3,000 Acadians living along the coast of Northumberland county. In the St.-Basile Mission in the Madawaska region there were about 400 Acadians, along with 56 Maliseets.⁴²⁵ This area had a resident Missionary as early as 1792. A decade later, in 1811, Bishop Plessis visited the Maritimes.⁴²⁶ Much of Plessis' concern was for these regions (Madawaska, Northumberland Coast and also farther down the St John, near Fredericton and the mission of Saint Anne) where the Acadian, Mi'kmaq and Maliseet populations clustered. These regions had the highest Roman Catholic concentration in the early years of the 19th century.⁴²⁷

Bishop Plessis visited Caraquet in June 1811. He operated a mission, which lasted four days (June 25-29) and he commented on the peculiarities of the inhabitants of Caraquet.⁴²⁸ On June 26th, 1811, he wrote,

Quelque excellents que soit la chrétienté de Caraquet, il faut avouer qu'elle est inférieure à celle des Isle de la Madeleine. Dans celle-ci il n'y a point de mélange. Malheureusement il y en a dans celle-là. Le haut de la paroisse est pur, mais le bas est en moins bonne renommée. Les habitants de cette partie sont plus exposé à sortir et à ententer des liaisons avec ceux de Paspébiac situé au nord de la baie des Chaleurs et mal noté sur les articles du luxe et des mœurs. Il n'y a pas encore de grands désordres au sud, mais on les craint et on les voit venir. L'établissement de Caraquet ainsi que tous ceux de la baie des Chaleurs, ne date pas de plus loin que la conquête du Canada par les armes Britanniques. Ses premiers colons on été des Acadiens et leurs enfants en conservent tout le langage.⁴²⁹

Plessis commented that fishing was the main economic activity. Agriculture was not as fruitful. The oyster beds in Caraquet "furnish each autumn 1000 or 1200 casks for exportation".⁴³⁰

⁴²⁴ Jennings, *Tending the Flock*.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁸ F-3 Bishop Joseph Octave Plessis, "Journal des deux voyages apostoliques," 106-115.

⁴²⁹ Translation: The Christianity of Caraquet is inferior to that of the Isle de la Madeleine. In Caraquet is the is mixing. The upper part of the parish is pure, but the lower part has a less renowned reputation. The inhabitants of this part are more exposed to leaving and creating liaisons with those in Paspébiac situated north of the Baie de Chaleur and do not have high regard for morals. There are not any large disorders in the south yet, but we see them coming. The establishment of Caraquet does not date father back that the conquest of Canada by British armies. Its first coloniést were Acadians and their children have conserved all the language.

⁴³⁰ F-4 Joseph Octave Plessis, "Journal de la Mission de 1811" cited in Ganong, *The History of Caraquet*, 30.

As translated by Ganong, Plessis went on to write that,

[t]he first inhabitants of Paspébiac, having intermarried with the savages, the entire colony, formed by their descendants, has a strain of savage blood, which marks the essential difference between them and the other inhabitants of Bay Chaleur. Those of the lower part of the parish of Caraquet share this ignominy; the foreigners, especially the Acadians, would consider themselves disgraced were they to inter-marry with the descendents of Savages, and they regard them only with a certain disdain.⁴³¹

Plessis continues by stating,

However, it is a fact that they have nothing in their customs, which indicates barbarism. During the Mission they even gave marks of kind attentions and hospitality which would put them almost on an equality with the inhabitants of Bonaventure. They lack but a little of the good grace with which the latter make their offerings.⁴³²

6.6. Indian Issues in the 1800s

In 1844, the New Brunswick Assembly proclaimed an *Act to Regulate the Management and Disposal of Indian Reserves in this Province*. The *Act* noted in its preamble that the large tracts of valuable land reserved for the Indians prohibited the settlement of the province. Still, the *Act* created a special fund to be used for the relief of indigent and infirm Indians, and for the provision of agricultural implements and seeds.⁴³³ It also allowed for the sale of reserve land and within two years, 10 lots at Eel Ground and 12 lots at Indian Point were sold at government auction.⁴³⁴

The British government, however, usually supported colonial efforts to deal with the “Indian problem”, but support almost invariably came for policies to transform the Indians into farmers. Moses H. Perley, Special Commissioner for Indian Affairs in New Brunswick from 1841-48, tried to convert the Indian reserves into European-type villages where each family would own land for agriculture and wood and there were common grazing areas. New Brunswick passed its own Indian Act and appointed commissioners to supervise the reserves and the selling of Indian lands that would help sustain such programs as making farmers of Indians.⁴³⁵ The Commissioner was unable to prevent encroachment on Indian lands. He reported in 1846 that “[t]respases are committed upon the Indian reserves with the most daring impunity”.⁴³⁶

The Indians of New Brunswick suffered greatly at the hands of squatters. Throughout New Brunswick, as well as in the other colonies, settlers frequently settled on the choice land on the

⁴³¹ F-4 *Ibid.*

⁴³² F-4 *Ibid.*

⁴³³ Hamilton, *The Julian Tribe*, 29; and PANB, RS8, Perley to Bailee, 30 Dec. 1847.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁵ Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists*, 89-116; and Hamilton, “Indian Lands in New Brunswick,” 3-28.

⁴³⁶ *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia*, 1846, Appendix 24, 118.

reserves without any official sanction. The executive government often denounced the squatters but the elected assembly was usually sympathetic to their plight. In 1841, the government issued two proclamations requiring those who had settled on Indian lands to remove themselves immediately and ordering them from cutting timber of Indian lands. The colony subsequently identified 118 such squatters, and although it had the legal right to remove the trespassers, the government did not address the problem. In fact, a Select Committee of the Assembly reported in 1843 that the 'settlers' [meaning squatters] on the reserves had contributed greatly to the progress of the colony and "should not be harried off the land which necessity had forced him to seek out for a livelihood".⁴³⁷ In addition, the Crown Lands Office often granted land to settlers that the Indians already occupied.⁴³⁸

All correspondence regarding Indian affairs passed through the Provincial Secretary's office. Local unpaid Indian commissioners had been appointed on an ad hoc basis since the colony was created. In 1825, the new lieutenant governor, Sir Howard Douglas, was met by 200 Maliseets and Mi'kmaq at Kingsclear. As they professed their loyalty, Douglas was shocked by their poverty. He wanted to institute a policy whereby annual presents [payments] could be made to the Indians as was done in the other colonies, but he was unable to convince the colonial office of the importance of such appropriations. Still, during his tenure, Douglas worked to improve the conditions of the Indians in the colony.⁴³⁹ In fact, when the Colonial Secretary Sir George Murray attempted to change the system for the administration of Indian affairs in all of British North America to improve the conditions and promote the interests of Indians, there was no response from New Brunswick.⁴⁴⁰

In 1838, Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, began another investigation of Indian affairs in Canada. The reports from New Brunswick were far from encouraging; on the Miramichi there were four to five hundred "Indians" living a hand-to-mouth existence, where most had been displaced from causal labourers in the forest industry by European labour. The report from there advised the sale of reserve land to provide a fund for the aged and infirmed. There was mounting public pressure to have all of the reserves in the province opened up to settlement. Those who advocated this policy argued that the Indians would be the main beneficiaries of such a scheme if the revenues earned from the sale were placed in a special fund to be used exclusively for their well being. Of course, there was more than altruism behind such rhetoric; if this policy was implemented, squatters would be able to legitimize their claims to reserve lands.⁴⁴¹

6.7. Creation of Reserves

Between 1758 and 1810, the New Brunswick government began to reserve land for Indians. The main reserves in the region were Red Bank (Metepenagiag), Eel Ground and Burnt Church. By 1841 it is reported that only 1,377 Indians were living in New Brunswick. The first Indian school in the area was started on the Burnt Church reserve in 1879. Mission schools were established for the Indians by the Church of England's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.⁴⁴²

⁴³⁷ Upton, "Indian Affairs in Colonial New Brunswick," 6-7. Note: Moses H. Perley's documents that were reviewed did not list specific reserves.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, 7-9.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, 9-11.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴¹ See, W.D. Hamilton, "Indian Lands in New Brunswick" for more detail.

⁴⁴² Arbuckle, *The Northwest Miramichi*, 34.

Between 1844 and 1867, New Brunswick had sold 16 percent of the 66,096 acres of the reserve land which generated only £2,853.10 for the Indian fund, never enough to meet the immediate needs of Indians, let alone provide for schools and other necessities. When Canada assumed responsibility for Indians in the Atlantic Province in 1867, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian affairs called for an immediate philanthropic effort to bring the region's Indians "up at least to the standard of the more advanced Indians of Ontario and Quebec."⁴⁴³

6.8. Indian Cultures and Social Structure in the 19th Century

The best contemporary account of Indian life in New Brunswick in the 19th century was produced by Moses H. Perley in 1841. He described the Maliseets as "forest Indians" who trapped and hunted primarily along the Saint John River valley. While there were only 442 Maliseets, they were spread out in five locations along the river. There two main reserves were at Kingsclear and at the junction of the Tobique and Saint John rivers. Kingsclear, a reserve of 320 acres, was the tribal meeting place with several houses, a chapel and a population of 158. Those nearest to Fredericton had abandoned much of their traditional hunting, turning to farming instead. Near Tobique, the traditional hunting and gathering practices persisted, though the bands had started to grow potatoes. Many of the people also found seasonal work on the timber drives and earned some income from timber cutting privileges to Europeans.⁴⁴⁴

The Mi'kmaq, who Perley called the "saltwater Indians", had traditionally lived by fishing and hunting along the north coast of the colony and in the Baie de Chaleur. Although somewhat more populous than the Maliseet band at nearly 1,000, the Mi'kmaq bands were more scattered. However, Mi'kmaq met every summer at Burnt Church (in the study region) to celebrate St Anne's Day. This was also a time to settle disputes between individuals, elect or depose Chiefs and captains, solemnize marriages, and transact public business. In the winter, there were 21 Mi'kmaq reserves that ranged in size from 10 to 10,000 acres, with populations ranging from 0 to 188. Richibucto was the largest reserve, which Perley considered the inhabitants to be of "steady industry and good habits".⁴⁴⁵ Some 120 acres had been brought under cultivation, and some Mi'kmaq worked as labourers at Jardine's wharves and shipyards. There were 108 Mi'kmaq at Eel Ground, many of whom found employment in the European wage economy.⁴⁴⁶

6.9. Indian and Natural Resource Issues in the 1800s

Parenteau and Kenny argue that the struggle between Mi'kmaq and Maliseet people and the non-Indian people over resources is not a recent phenomenon in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. In fact, they suggest that Indians in the region resisted in numerous ways after New Brunswick became a separate colony in 1784 and the colonial government began to apportion land and resource rights to accommodate the growing agricultural and commercial interests of the newcomers. The process of dividing the resources of the colony, they argue, gave little consideration of what customary usage or

⁴⁴³ L.F.S. Upton, "Indian Affairs in Colonial New Brunswick," 21-2; and L.F.S. Upton, "Indian Policy in Colonial Nova Scotia," *Acadiensis* 5 (1) (Autumn 1975), 28-9.

⁴⁴⁴ Perley, Moses H., "Reports on Indian Settlements," (1841).

⁴⁴⁵ H-15 PANB, MC 3/355, Moses Perley "Extracts from Mr. Perley's First Report Respecting the Indians on the Saint John." in Reports on Indian Settlements.

⁴⁴⁶ Upton, "Indian Affairs in Colonial New Brunswick," 6.

Treaty rights the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet may have held. The Indians were increasingly being pushed to the margins of the areas that they had traditionally hunted and fished, such as forests and coastal regions throughout the Maritime region, and to a lesser extent, engaged in agriculture, such as marshlands around the Bay of Fundy and along the Saint John River.⁴⁴⁷

Parenteau and Kenny suggest that while Indians in New Brunswick steadily increased their agricultural production between 1867 and the end of the First World War, they did not emerge as a class of yeoman farmers. Still, they followed the trend of many people in the province and became relatively well integrated into the rural labouring class following Confederation in 1867. By 1900, according to reports from Indian agents, labouring wages accounted for close to one-half of the total income of all Indian people in the province. Wage labour became an important component of the survival strategies of New Brunswick's Indian people until the regional economy entered a period of general depression in the 1930s.⁴⁴⁸ However, it is unclear whether wage labour was as important for mixed-ancestry people.

In the period after Confederation, traditional hunting and fishing decline, though sports-fishing and tourism increased. It is interesting that when New Brunswick established a closed season for moose in 1865 and enacted a bag limit the following year, both acts provided partial exemptions for Indian people for subsistence purposes, a recognition, perhaps, of traditional use and/or the importance of these resources to the Indian communities.⁴⁴⁹

The Government of New Brunswick and the Government of Canada imposed stricter rules on hunting and fishing in the latter part of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th through a series of Acts in the New Brunswick Legislature and the Parliament of Canada. In their article, Parenteau and Kenny refer to various acts passed in the New Brunswick Legislature in 1875, 1876, 1879, 1893, 1901, 1909, and 1912, and in the Canadian Parliament in 1868 as well as various interpretations of the Acts by the Department of Marine and Fisheries to control access to the fisheries resources. The Indians argued that they were exempt from many of the new rules and regulations. In 1925, two Mi'kmaq men (Alex Bernard and Peter Jacob) were arrested in the parish of Salisbury for unlawfully trapping beaver. Both men pleaded not guilty before the police magistrate, and their counsel, W. Emmett McMonagle, entered as evidence at the trial such documents as the Treaty of 1935, the Treaty of 1752, Belcher's Proclamation of 1752, the Royal Proclamation of 1763, and the *British North America Act*, arguing that the Mi'kmaq had Treaty rights to hunt and fish. However, the magistrate did not rule on this issue as he ruled that there was insufficient evidence to sustain the charge. Even so, over the next decades, the Indians began to assert their Treaty rights.⁴⁵⁰ Parenteau and Kenny do not make any references to people of mixed-ancestry in their paper; they use the word "Native" except when they refer to specific cultural groups such as the "Mi'kmaq".

William Wicken argues that within the Mi'kmaq community in Nova Scotia that there was a clear belief passed down through oral tradition that the 18th century treaties signed between their ancestors

⁴⁴⁷ Bill Parenteau and James Kenny, "Survival, Resistance and the Canadian State: The Transformation of New Brunswick's Native Economy, 1867-1914," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* (Toronto, 2002): 49-51.

⁴⁴⁸ Parenteau and Kenny, "Survival, Resistance and the Canadian State," 55-56.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 61-62.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 68-69.

and the colonial authorities gave the Mi'kmaq people the right to hunt and fish as they pleased.⁴⁵¹

7. Chapter Seven – The Early 20th Century

7.1. The Establishment of Saint-Quentin

The Maliseet people may have been in the Saint-Quentin region when the first Europeans traveled to the area. Europeans arrived late in comparison to the rest of the study region. In the early 1900s, the Restigouche and Railway Company decided to build a railroad that would link Saint-Leonard to Campbellton, connecting northwestern New Brunswick with northeastern New Brunswick. This took the workers deeper and deeper in to the forest. Workers started work on the railroad from both ends.⁴⁵²

During the building of the railroad, in 1907, the young Bishop and missionary Louis-Joseph Arthur Melanson became the “curé de Balmoral”.⁴⁵³ In the same year, he began a large colonization project. He enticed Acadian and Quebec families to settle and farm the region along the railroad where the soil was rich. The area was close to both Quebec and Maine. A thesis by Sr. Irene Landry presents the socio-economic history of the Parish of Saint-Quentin.⁴⁵⁴ Saint-Quentin (then known as Anderson Siding) was established during the “retour à la terre” or the “Back to the Land” movement in the early years of the 20th century. At this time, many French Canadians were leaving Quebec in search of jobs in industries in the United States.⁴⁵⁵ Melanson was convinced that agriculture was the only way to counter the mass exodus to the United States. In addition, it would give Acadians in northern New Brunswick and French Canadians from Québec economic stability, which, in his opinion, was in the soil. Thus, Melanson began to convince people of the importance of agriculture. He wrote in 1916 in his book *Retour à la terre*, “L’agriculture est le départ d’où partent toutes les espérances de succès et d’avancement dans le progrès”.⁴⁵⁶

Thanks to his efforts, colonization took place in the county of Restigouche and, bit by bit, Francophones became the majority of the population instead of the English.⁴⁵⁷ If there were people of mixed ancestry in the region, they may not have been populous enough to be identified in Landry’s thesis.⁴⁵⁸ However, it is difficult to know how they self-identified or were identified by others. According to Landry, Anderson Siding was attractive to French Canadian settlers because of its proximity to Quebec and to the United States. It also had rich soil and good forests. Abbé Melanson wanted to attract hard-working settlers.⁴⁵⁹ He wanted them to come and cultivate the land,

⁴⁵¹ William Wicken, “Heard it from our Grandfathers: Mi’kmaq Treaty Tradition and the *Syliboy* Case of 1928,” *UNB Law Journal* 44 (1955): 145-146.

⁴⁵² H-12 Sr. Irene Landry, « Saint-Quentin et le retour à la terre: Analyse socio-économique 1910-1960, » Masters of Arts thesis, l’Université de Moncton published in *Revue de la Société Historique du Madawaska* 14, No. 4, (Oct-Dec.1986), 4-9.

⁴⁵³ H-12 *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁴ H-12 *Ibid.*, 4-44.

⁴⁵⁵ H-12 *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁶ Arthur Melanson, *Retour à la terre*, (Montreal : Librairie Beauchemin Ltée, 1916), 31 cited in H-12 *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁵⁷ H-12 *Ibid.*, 4-44.

⁴⁵⁸ H-12 *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁹ H-12 *Ibid.*

but he under-estimated the hardships that the first settlers would face such as lack of money, difficulties in clearing the land, harsh weather, etc.

Before the settlers arrived, the Saint-Quentin area was known as Five Fingers, the name of one of the tributaries of the Restigouche. In 1909, Simon Galant, an Acadian blacksmith from Prince Edward Island who worked on the railroad linking Saint-Leonard with Campbellton, decided to establish his family in the Five Fingers area. Anderson Siding is believed to have been established in 1909 with the celebration of a first mass in Galant's log home.⁴⁶⁰ After a few years, he left the area, but the reason is unknown. Construction of the railroad ended in 1910 when the workers met in the middle in the Kedgwick area, near Anderson Siding (Saint-Quentin). In October 1910, more settlers arrived in Anderson Siding. The first four families to arrive were:⁴⁶¹

- Elisée Labri de Saint-Eloi, of Témiscouta, QC
- Léon Beaulieu de Saint-Cyprien, of Témiscouta, QC
- Ferdinand Pelletier de Saint-Jean-de-Dieu, of Témiscouta, QC
- Daniel Oullet de Val Brillant, of Matapedia, QC⁴⁶²

Among the first settlers, there were also three bachelors: two brothers, Joseph and Philodolphe Saucier, and Jean Fournier; all were from de Val Brillant, Matapedia, Quebec. In later years, more settlers also came from Matapedia and Témiscouta.⁴⁶³ These first families spent the winter at Anderson Siding in camps they built quickly. In general, the men came first and sought out an appropriate plot of land, built their camp and then went back for their families. To obtain a lot, a settler had to follow certain steps.⁴⁶⁴

During his colonization project, Bishop Melanson wrote a book called *Retour à la terre*. In it, he insisted on the good quality of the soil in Anderson Siding. Melanson also believed that the village would become one of the best agricultural parishes of the county.⁴⁶⁵ Many settlers came and went; where they went unknown. Some settlers stayed in Anderson Siding only for a short while. They would make money off the land and from the timber and then they would move on.⁴⁶⁶ Logging was a major industry, more so than agriculture. The town of Anderson Siding grew quickly into a large village. In a 1914 Census, 1380 residents were counted. In 1916, there were more 2000 residents. By 1924, most of the settlers came from Quebec (231), New Brunswick (106) and the United States (67).⁴⁶⁷ From 1910 to 1960, 924 marriages were celebrated in Anderson Siding/Saint-Quentin.⁴⁶⁸ In the beginning, it was mostly young families that settled at Anderson Siding, thus second generation marriages took place later. There was a population increase in the town after 1936 when the original settlers' children would have been having children of their own.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁰ The Town of Saint-Quentin, www.saintquentin.nb.ca (October 15, 2004).

⁴⁶¹ H-12 Landry, "Saint-Quentin," 10.

⁴⁶² H-12 *Ibid.*

⁴⁶³ H-12 *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁶⁴ See the section on Allardville for division of lots and their sizes. Or, read Landry's thesis, Key Document H-12.

⁴⁶⁵ H-12 Landry, "Saint-Quentin," 4-44.

⁴⁶⁶ H-12 *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁷ H-12 *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁸ H-12 *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁹ H-12 *Ibid.* Note: no primary sources were listed.

The first church in the community was built in 1911, the post office in 1912, and the first school in 1913. The ancestry of the first non-Indian settlers in the region was mainly French, and thus they changed the name of their community to Saint-Quentin in 1919. In 1919, the name was changed to Saint-Quentin to honour the memory of the battle of Saint-Quentin in France where the Canadian Army assisted for victory.⁴⁷⁰ A hospital, Hotel Dieu St-Joseph, was built in 1947. The original economy was based on farming and lumbering, similar to the rest of the study region.⁴⁷¹

There is no evidence in the literature to suggest that there have ever been any Indian settlements in the vicinity of Saint-Quentin.⁴⁷² And the research did not yield any references to intermarriage between Saint-Quentin settlers and local Indians. There are, however, references to mixed-marriages in the St. Basile area and in Dalhousie, near Saint-Quentin.

Michael Donovan married Madeleine Jerome in 1913 in Dalhousie. The notes associated with this entry in the *Micmac and Maliseet Vital Statistics* describes Michael as being born in Arcloo, Ireland in 1883, and baptized at St. Jean L'Evangeliste, Quebec. Madeleine was an "Indian" baptized at St. Jean Baptiste, Dalhousie in 1879.⁴⁷³

Marguerite Jerome married William Nelson Palmater in 1913, also in Dalhousie. Their priest was A.A. Boucher. Marguerite is noted to have been an "Indian", age 24 years, and married civilly by the same priest three years earlier.⁴⁷⁴

Monique Jerome married William Henry McIlraith also in 1913 in Dalhousie. The notes associated with this entry state: "after William gave profession of faith, he was born in Cork Ireland in 1888. Monique age 36 and "Indian" was baptized at Dalhousie".⁴⁷⁵

These entries are interesting because the three Jerome girls may have been sisters or relatives. Also, William and Marguerite were witnesses for Monique and William. Monique and William were witnesses for William and Marguerite. Joseph LaBillois and Rosalie Jerome were witnesses for Madeleine and Michael. Of particular note is that they all married men with English names and two are listed as "Irish". Therefore, this implies they were English speakers.⁴⁷⁶

No mention of a mixed-ancestry community in the immediate Saint-Quentin area was uncovered in this research.

7.2. The Establishment of Allardville

Allardville was also established as a result of the "Back to the Land Movement", like Saint-Quentin and in the same period. A thesis by Edmund Poirier describes the agricultural and economic history

⁴⁷⁰ H-12 *Ibid.*

⁴⁷¹ The Town of Saint-Quentin, www.saintquentin.nb.ca (October 15, 2004).

⁴⁷² See Key Document B-2, map of known prehistoric villages and encampments in New Brunswick in Ganong, *A Monograph of the Origins of Settlement in New Brunswick*, 20.

⁴⁷³ A-1 PANB, *Micmac and Maliseet Vital Statistics*, 74.

⁴⁷⁴ A-1 *Ibid.*, 120.

⁴⁷⁵ A-1 *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁶ A-1 *Ibid.*

of Allardville's beginning. It is the only literature on Allardville that was found. "Allardville was established between 1930 and 1939, when increased demands for settlement lots were made by prospective settlers with insufficient funds for buildings, clearing and preparing land for crops, and providing family needs."⁴⁷⁷ All of these people were on social assistance and most had not farmed before.

The settlement of Allardville proceeded under the *Crown Lands Act* of 1927.

Before the applications for settlement lots were accepted by the Department of Lands and Mines, the land in question was examined, roads were located, and returns showing the location of lots filed with the department. When the survey was completed, applications were received from persons recommended by the Forest Ranger in the district and by the clergyman in the Parish. Land was surveyed into one hundred acre lots which could be applied for by any male person of the age of eighteen and over who was not already the owner of any farm of woodland suitable for cultivation, or had not previously secured a grant of land from the Crown.⁴⁷⁸

There were a few conditions of settlement.⁴⁷⁹ Some of these included:

- The applicant had to pay a \$12 application fee.
- If the application was approved, then the applicant could go to his/her land and start clearing the 10 acres next to the road.
- Within one year he had to clear four acres of land and build a habitable home of at least 16 by 20 feet.
- Cutting on any other part of the land other than the 10 acres next to the road was prohibited unless s/he had a special permit
- Before earning title to his/her grant, the settler must have resided on the land for at least seven months of each year for three consecutive years, performed \$30 worth of labour on the roads which could be cancelled by paying a fee of \$20 to Lands and Mines.
- Once these conditions had been met, s/he earned his/her grant and could cut wherever s/he liked on it.⁴⁸⁰

The *Crown Lands Act* was designed to foster land settlement and farming even where potential settlers were quite poor. It was designed to prevent land from being cut for timber and instead directed toward those who would farm it. "In 1939 a land settlement study was carried on in Northern New Brunswick by the Economics Division of the Dominion Department of Agriculture for the purpose of obtaining information regarding the establishment and progress of new settlers in the area."⁴⁸¹ The number of settlers who arrived on their land in Allardville each year were:

⁴⁷⁷ H-16 Edmund M. Poirier, "The Founding of Allardville Settlement," Unpublished Masters of Arts in History Thesis, (Fredericton, UNB, 1973) 14.

⁴⁷⁸ H-16 *Ibid.*, 15.

⁴⁷⁹ See Key Document H-16 for more detail.

⁴⁸⁰ H-16 E. Poirier, "The Founding of Allardville Settlement."

⁴⁸¹ H-16 *Ibid.*, 16.

Table 4 – Numbers of Settlers who Arrived in Allardville from 1931 to 1937⁴⁸²

Year	Number of Settlers
1931	0
1932	6
1933	0
1934	6
1935	16
1936	40
1937	8

The interviews also asked about expenses and income from the farms. The settlers that arrived in the fall of 1932 had to immediately build shelters for protection against the coming winter months. They cleared their land with their own hands, and without any money they built their homes from resources on their lands. It was hard work to clear land with only an axe and saw. The soil was poor, rocky and it was difficult to remove large stumps without machinery. The growing season was limited and lasted only from July to August. Crops did not grow well. Considering these and other factors, “it is not surprising that Allardville’s first year was not a success. Far from growing enough produce to sustain them; the colonists in order to meet expenses were forced to sell firewood”.⁴⁸³

Toward the end of 1934, the New Brunswick government was beginning to show discouragement with the new settlement of Allardville. Things were not going as well as planned. Settlers were not making as much progress as had been hoped for, except for cutting wood.⁴⁸⁴ In January 1934, the Department of Lands and Mines obtained a petition from the residents of Lower and Middle Caraquet stating that their fishing industry had been adversely affected by the Depression.⁴⁸⁵

The settlement area of Allardville grew considerably and in 1936 it consisted of Allardville proper, Allardville South, and Allardville East. Allardville East was home to settlers who had been on relief in Shippegan and Caraquet. They had moved to Allardville due to the decline in the fishing industry in the northeastern part of the province.⁴⁸⁶

In 1939, settlers of Allardville wanted a separate parish of their own instead of being included with the Parish of Bathurst. This was because they felt they did not get anything from Bathurst and did not ever have a voice in the affairs of the County of Gloucester. The need for a program of action to develop the economy, develop education and improve the social amenities in rural Gloucester County was argued with great clarity by M. Fournier at a meeting of the Gloucester County Council in 1938.⁴⁸⁷

Moneigneur Allard was the Parish Priest of Caraquet. He was of “native French” descent, a

⁴⁸² The origins of these settlers is unknown.

⁴⁸³ H-16 E. Poirier, “The Founding of Allardville Settlement,” 23.

⁴⁸⁴ H-16 *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁵ H-16 *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁶ H-16 *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁷ H-16 *Ibid.*

descendant of the Landrys of Caraquet who settled across the Bay. But it is not known if Allardville settlement was named after him or not.⁴⁸⁸

To summarize, both Allardville and Saint Quentin were settled during the “Back to the Land Movement” in the early 20th century. Saint-Quentin was populated with many French Canadians. By the early 1900s, many Indian reserves had been created and Indians were more separated from mainstream society. There was not the same degree of interaction among the early settlers in Saint-Quentin and Allardville and Indians as there had been in the much older community of Caraquet.⁴⁸⁹ Allardville did attract people from the local area and it is possible that mixed-ancestry people arrived as well, but we found no indication of this in our research.

7.3. Other Towns in the Early 20th Century

In the histories of Miscou and Pokemouch that was provided by Ganong and published in *Acadiensis* in the early 1900s, there was no mention of mixed-ancestry people.⁴⁹⁰ Ganong does give detailed information, though, on the mixed-ancestry and heritage of the settlers in Upper and Lower Caraquet and that some of these settlers were related to those in Shippegan. Ganong does not describe the existence of mixed-ancestry people in Miscou or Pokemouch but we cannot conclude from Ganong's work that these two towns were not home to mixed-ancestry people. However, there does not appear to be any reference to these communities in relation to mixed-ancestry groups in the written historical records that were uncovered in this research.

7.4. Demographics in the First Half of the 20th Century

The 1901 was a national Census that recorded “Indians” and “Half breeds/Métis”. It gave the following totals for New Brunswick.

Table 5 – The 1901 Census

Ethnicity	Population
Total Population	331,120
“Indians”	1,309
“Half breeds/Métis”	156

The 1901 Census also provides a county breakdown for each ethnicity group, and the following information on recorded numbers of “Half breeds/Métis” is taken from the Census Reports.

⁴⁸⁸ H-16 *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁹ H-16 *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁰ See Key Documents H-8 (Ganong, *The History of Miscou and Shippegan*) and H-7 (Ganong, *The History of Caraquet and Pokemouche*).

Table 6 – Number of People Classified as “Half breed” or “Métis” by Municipality^{491*}

Municipality and County	Number of “Half breed/Métis” People
St. Andrews (Charlotte County)	18
Weldford (Kent County)	2
Studholme (Kings County)	5
Alnwick (Northumberland County)	1
South Esic (Northumberland County)	23
Colbourne (Restigouche)	54
Dalhousie (Restigouche)	6
St. John City and County	7
Gagetown (Sunbury & Queens County)	1
Petersville (Sunbury & Queens County)	16
Perth (Victoria County)	22
Manners Sutton (York County)	1

* Towns in bold are those within in the study region.

The following instructions were given to the Census Officers:

The race of men will be designated by the use of 'w' for white, 'r' for red, 'b' for black and 'y' for yellow. The white races are, of course, the Caucasian race, the reds are the American Indian, and blacks are the African or Negro, and the yellows are the Mongolia (Japanese and Chinese). But only pure whites will be classed as white; the children begotten of marriages between white and any one of the other races will be classed as red, black or yellow, as the case may be, irrespective of the degree of colour.⁴⁹²

The instructions also asked enumerators to identify “Citizenship, Nationality, and Religion” of each person. The specific instructions read as follows:

Among whites the racial or tribal origin is traced through the father, as in English, Scotch, Irish, French, German, Italian, Scandinavian, etc. Care must be taken, however, not to apply the terms “American” or “Canadian” in a racial sense, as there are not races of men so called. “Japanese”, “Chinese”, and “negro” are proper racial terms, but in the case of Indians the name of their tribe should be given, as “Chippewa”, “Cree”, etc. Persons of mixed white and red blood – commonly know as “breeds” will be described by addition of letters “f.b.” for French breed, “e.b.” for English breed, “s.b.” for Scotch breed, and “i.b.” for Irish breed. For example: “Cree f.b.” denotes that the person is racially a mixture of Cree and French; and “Chippewa s.b.” denotes that the person is Chippewa and Scotch. Other mixtures

⁴⁹¹ Report of the Fourth Census of Canada. Volume 1: Population. Ottawa, King's Printer, 1902.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*

of Indian besides the four above are rare, and may be described by the letters "o.b." for other breed. If several races are combined with the red, such as English, Scotch, Irish, and French, or any other, they should also be described by the initials "o.b.". A person whose father is English, but whose mother is Scotch, Irish, French, or any other race, will be ranked as English, and so with any others – the line of descent being traced through the father is the white race.⁴⁹³

The 1901 Census records are also "significant in that they are presumably based on individual's self-identification. That is, individuals with the code FB [French Breed] are presumed to have told the enumerator that they were of mixed French and Indian origin".⁴⁹⁴

The 1941 Census for New Brunswick also included "Half breeds" and grouped "Indians" and "Eskimo" together.

Table 7 – The 1941 Census Results for "Half breeds"

Ethnicity	Population
Total Population	457,401
"Half breeds"	117
"Indian/Eskimo"	1939

The 1941 Census also provided a breakdown of all groups by age, with the following information included for the group designated as "Half breeds": aged 0-14, 38; aged, 15-44, 25; and aged 45-64, 15. Therefore, there has been a reduction in the population identified as "Half breed". The numbers were given for Male and Female for each county; the total number of "Half breeds" was given as well as the number that were classified as "rural". The county breakdowns are provided below.

Table 8 – The 1941 Census Results for "Half breeds" by County in New Brunswick⁴⁹⁵

County	Gender	Total	Rural
Albert	Male	-	-
	Female	-	-
Carleton	Male	6	6
	Female	3	2
Charlotte	Male	1	1
	Female	1	1
Gloucester	Male	-	-
	Female	-	-
Kent	Male	2	2
	Female	-	-

⁴⁹³ *Fourth Censuses of Canada 1901, Instructions to Chief Officers, Commissioners, and Enumerators*. (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1901), 13-14.

⁴⁹⁴ Gwen Reimer and J.P. Chartrand, "Documenting Historic Metis in Ontario," *Ethnohistory*, 51 no. 3 (2004), 9-10.

⁴⁹⁵ Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Eight Census of Canada, 1941. Volume II* (Ottawa, 1944).

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County	Gender	Total	Rural
Kings	Male	2	2
	Female	4	4
Madawaska	Male	-	-
	Female	-	-
Northumberland	Male	1	1
	Female	1	1
Queens	Male	7	7
	Female	5	5
Restigouche	Male	-	-
	Female	1	1
St. John	Male	11	-
	Female	6	-
Sunbury	Male	-	-
	Female	-	-
Victoria	Male	1	1
	Female	1	1
Westmorland	Male	10	10
	Female	-	-
York	Male	29	29
	Female	28	28
New Brunswick	Male	68	57
	Female	49	42

7.5. Mixed-Ancestry of Indians

At the turn of the 20th century, some scholars, such as Wallis and Wallis, have claimed that the effects of over two centuries of intermarriage between men (and some women) of various European ethnicities and Mi'kmaq and Maliseet in New Brunswick were quite noticeable.

In 1955, Wallis and Wallis, for example, wrote,

[a]t present Micmac are so intermixed with whites, especially French, that it is doubtful whether there is a pure-blooded individual among them. In northern New Brunswick intermarriage with the French was so considerable that a century ago Cooney ascribed to the French settlers at Caraquette more of the colour and features of the Micmac Indians that is generally discernible in Acadians.⁴⁹⁶

Wallis and Wallis also claim that in Eastern Canada,

The policy of adopting white children has added a degree of mixture which is equally difficult to assess. Only in the last few years,

⁴⁹⁶ H-19 Wallis, Wilson D. and Ruth Sawtell Wallis, *The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), 21.

because of the expense involved in an increasing Indian population, has the Canadian government forbidden this. At each reserve visited in 1953, at least two adults, Micmac in speech and culture, were whites adopted in infancy.⁴⁹⁷

Mechling, in 1958, commented, "[t]oday there are no full-blooded Indians to be found, but the amount of white blood in each individual varies greatly. However, even if white blood preponderates the individual considers himself an Indian, and is so regarded by the government and by the surrounding white population."⁴⁹⁸

Further, Mechling outlines the two political parties at St. Mary's [reserve] during the 1950s.

The two parties at St. Mary are the "full-bloods," so called, and the "half-breeds." I do not believe that membership in these parties has much to do with the amount of white blood in the members, because there are no full-bloods in the village. It depends, probably, more on whether the individual is an old member of that village or not, but even this is not always the case. It seems generally that people of conservative taste belong to the full-blood party, and those who like innovations belong to the half-breed party. The other reservations are divided very much the same manner.⁴⁹⁹

8. Chapter Eight – Discussion: The Possible Ethnogenesis of a Mixed-Ancestry Community in Northeastern New Brunswick

8.1. The Possible Ethnogenesis of a Mixed-Ancestry Group in Caraquet

Apart from the group of Norman-Indian settlers who, together with a number of Acadians and French Canadians, obtained a large land grant at Caraquet in 1784, no indication of other historic communities or groups of mixed-ancestry people living together in northeastern New Brunswick have been found. However, mixed European and Indian marriages have been recorded in Church records all over the province, and are a widely accepted historical fact for New Brunswick. However, marriages alone do not necessarily represent a historical site-specific and culturally distinct community of people. A number of marriages within the same town or area does not directly indicate a group of people who share unique cultural customs. As described in the narrative, many mixed marriages took place in the study region. For example, the earliest recorded marriage in the *Micmac and Maliseet Vital Statistics* that lists the racial background of one of the partners was in 1770 in Caraquet. Marie Joseph married Paul Maurice on November 10, 1770. Marie is listed as a "mikmak." The priest was C.F. Bailey, and the wedding was registered at St. Pierre Aux Liens, Caraquet. The only specific reference to "halfbreed" in the *Micmac and Maliseet*

⁴⁹⁷ H-19 Wallis and Wallis, *The Micmac Indians*, 21.

⁴⁹⁸ W.H. Mechling, "The Malecite Indians, with notes on the Micmacs," *Anthropologica* 7 (1958): 4.

⁴⁹⁹ Mechling, "The Malecite Indians," 140.

Vital Statistics appears on page 60.⁵⁰⁰ Louis Cordeau was baptized on May 7, 1905. He was born six days earlier and his parents were Louis Cordeau (Senior) and Mary Jane Paul. The priest was P. Duffy, and the baptism was registered at St. Anne's, Eel Ground. Louis Senior is listed as a "half breed." Joseph Thomas Labove was baptized at the age of four on March 2, 1769 at St. Pierre Aux Liens, Caraquet. The priest was C.F. Bailey. His parents were Thomas Labove and Marie Argimaux, and Thomas is recorded as an "Acadiens Mikmaks."

In Caraquet, it could not be ascertained how the mixed-ancestry group self-identified, or how they were viewed and identified by others. Members of the "Grande Grant" ("François Gionnest and 33 others") identified themselves simply as the inhabitants of Caraquet. The grantees included not only the mixed Indian-Norman group, but also Acadians and French Canadians. Bishop Plessis commented on how the residents of Lower Caraquet (the mixed Indian-Norman group) attended church infrequently as compared to their Acadian neighbours in Upper Caraquet.

As well, Shippegan was also home to the same "stock", as Ganong put it, of Norman-Indian people who lived in Caraquet. However, in the areas in and around Miramichi, Bathurst, Allardville, and Saint Quentin, no information was found in the written historical records that would indicate a community of European and Indian people who shared a mixed-ancestry. However, the written historical primary source documents did not reveal settlements of mixed-ancestry people, with distinct cultural practices, in the early historical period. The records consulted simply were not written with the intention of tracing the history of mixed-ancestry people.

8.2. The Possibility of Distinct Cultural Practices in the Study Region

It was not possible to ascertain how unique, if unique at all, the culture of mixed-ancestry people in Caraquet was, or how different they were from the Acadians and Canadians with whom they shared the "Grande Grant". There exists a very limited amount of written historical documents relating to the mixed-ancestry people of northeastern New Brunswick. Historical records and documents that do exist have been examined for the current research project. Both W.F. Ganong and Bishop Plessis, who had some knowledge of Caraquet and its mixed Indian Norman group, have alluded to the peculiarities of the inhabitants, but they did not articulate fully the differences (if any) between that community and surrounding ones. There is no evidence to date to suggest that the mixed Indian-Norman people performed different jobs or different economic roles from their neighbours, or occupied a special social "niche" compared to other people who lived in the region. They were however, referred to as "Normans et métisses" in the historical record and in early Census records.⁵⁰¹ However, "métisse" in this sense might refer simply to being of mixed racial origins, as this word means in French, rather than referring to a new or unique cultural group.

It does not appear that a creole dialect or pidgin evolved in the study area. This may have been because children from mixed-ancestry marriages were either raised with in their mother's culture, or

⁵⁰⁰ See Key Document A-1 for Selections from the *Micmac and Maliseet Vital Statistics*.

⁵⁰¹ 1670 Census cited in H-10 Haines, "The Acadian Settlement," 12.

in French society. As well, although people with mixed Norman and Indian ancestry lived together in Caraquet, they were surrounded by French-speaking Acadians and French Canadians from Quebec. Thus, the predominant language appears to have been French. However, this point is a matter of conjecture. Gamaliel Smethurst, the English Trader, who traveled through Caraquet in the mid-1700s, kept a detailed narrative of his journey, and he did not mention a different language spoken by residents there. Moreover, Bishop Plessis made a pastoral visit to Caraquet in 1811, and he did not give any indication of a unique dialect or language spoken by any of the residents there.

8.3. The Various Markers of “Effective European Control” – A Summary

Various markers of “effective European control” were highlighted throughout the narrative section of this report. The beginning of European influence in the study region was felt in the 16th and early 17th centuries. Cartier explored the coastal regions of the study area in 1534 and Champlain explored the area in 1603. Indian life subsequently changed and permanent French settlements began in the 1600s. Port Royal became a permanent settlement in 1605, but permanent settlement did not reach the study area until much later. Nicolas Denys and his family and Jean Jacques Enaud were all living on the northshore on New Brunswick by 1650. In the early 1600s, France and England began to fight over possession of the region and this conflict lasted for more than a century. Policies toward mixed marriages were established in the 1700s, but changed and evolved over many decades. The period of treaties and wars between the English and Mi’kmaq began in the 1720s. The process of making peace began in 1760 in earnest preparation for the arrival of English settlers. At this time, many Acadians throughout Acadia took refuge in the forests of northeastern New Brunswick in order to escape the English raids and Expulsion in 1755. In 1764, Acadians were allowed to return to Acadia. Many did and some found their way back to Caraquet and other sites on the northeastern coast (the study region) where they had taken refuge earlier. In 1783, 35,000 Loyalists arrived in Sunbury County in Nova Scotia at the end of the American Revolutionary War. Subsequently, Sunbury County became its own province, called New Brunswick. The 1800s saw the creation of Indian reserves and increasing assimilation of the Indians. Saint-Quentin and Allardville were established in the early 1900s. Levels of control grew over time in the study region, which remained a remote area for a very long time, away from government scrutiny and pressure.

8.4. Conceptual Issues

8.4.1. “Community”

There are different meanings of the word community. For example, in the *Powley* case, a Métis community was defined “as a group of Métis with a distinctive collective identity, living together in the same geographic area and sharing a common way of life”. Outside of the courts a community can refer to a site-specific, physical location such as town, city, campsite, etc; in other words, a community can refer to a settlement. But community can also mean an association of people with shared interests but who may be geographically dispersed. They may possess a collective identity. Thus, in the sense of shared identity, it is possible that there could have been a much larger and extensive community of mixed-ancestry people in New Brunswick. It might have been that mixed-ancestry people knew each other, intermarried, and shared the same language, customs, traditions, and practices even though they did not live in the same physical

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location, and did not write about their culture. Future research could explore the broader meanings of community, and how they apply to mixed-ancestry people in New Brunswick.

8.4.2. "Métis"

The word "métis" presented a conceptual challenge. The study region was settled by the French, and it was the French, Acadians, and Normans who intermarried with the Indians most frequently. The word "métis" is originally a French word, which translates to English to mean "of mixed race" or "mongrel". Thus, if someone was referred to as a "Métis" in the 1600s or 1700s, it may have simply translated to "half breed" in English or as a descriptor of a dual mixed ancestry, and probably not "Métis" as in the "Red River Métis."

It has been argued recently, by Métis activists, for example, that the term "Métis" was first used in New Brunswick and Quebec.⁵⁰² For example, an island in the Saint John River, in New Brunswick, was labeled Isle de Métisse in the early historical period.⁵⁰³ As well, there is a river and a community near Mont Joli, Quebec (not far from the study region) called Mitis.⁵⁰⁴ In the Gaspé, there are towns called Métis-sur-Mer and Grand-Métis. According to Préfontaine, Dorion, Young and Farrell Racette, the word "Métis" was first documented in 1615.⁵⁰⁵ It means a mixture of various races. The word has exactly the same meaning as the Spanish word "Mestizo", and both come from the Latin word "Mixtus" which means mixed. In Canada, nobody knows for sure how or when people of mixed-ancestry began calling themselves "Métis", but Louis Riel is credited with having been the first person to refer to the French-speaking population of Rupert's Land as "Métis" in formal writing. Today, as Préfontaine, Dorion, Young and Farrell Racette argue, many people in Canada of mixed Indian and European descent identify as "Métis". The authors also suggest that:

In the past, the "Métis" often lived in isolated communities and were largely able to preserve their identity. Over time, however, assimilation took a heavy toll on "Métis" identity: for several generations many people of mixed-ancestry suppressed their "Métis" heritage in order to fit better into Euro-Canadian society.⁵⁰⁶

Knowledge about "Métis" origins is still emerging and Miscegenation Studies is still in its infancy, Préfontaine, Dorion, Young and Farrell Racette surmise in their essay:

Not surprisingly, the process of "being and becoming" "Métis" is one of the most interesting areas of "Métis" Studies. Nobody knows for sure when the first "Métis" person lived or when Contact first

⁵⁰² Redbird, *We are Métis*, 1. Marcel Trudel, for instance, uses the following words to describe the first daughter born to Charles La Tour and "a Souriquois woman": "this is the first métis child mentioned in the history of French America." See Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France, 1524-1663* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), 155.

⁵⁰³ Dunn, "The Effect of Terminology."

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁵ D. R. Préfontaine, et al., *Metis Identity* (Regina: Gabriel Dumont Institute, 2003), 24-26.

⁵⁰⁶ See, for example, *Globe and Mail*, 7 August 2004, for a story by Glenn Wheeler who writes about his father's genealogical search for their Aboriginal roots in Newfoundland even though the family did not acknowledge the possibility of a mixed ancestry until very recently.

occurred. Until recently, little academic attention was paid to the origins of the “Métis”. Furthermore, few historical surveys – other than the recently released “Métis” Legacy and the “Métis”: Our People, Our Story CD-ROM – have attempted to assess the full sweep of “Métis” history. Yet, more comprehensive and detailed historical surveys of the entire “Métis” experience in Canada would be welcome.⁵⁰⁷

Little is known about the development of “Métis” group identity. One of the inherent problems in researching this field is the lack of primary resources relating to the development of “Métis” group identity throughout North America. Since historical memory in “Métis” society is largely based on an oral tradition, it is extremely difficult to analyze the development of early “Métis” nationalism or group identity, especially outside of Prairie Canada. “Métis” perspectives from the early 1800s, if they existed, have not been recorded and chronicled.

Préfontaine, Dorion, Young and Racette have noted, as others have, “that ‘Métis’ history is plagued by the necessity to reconstruct the past since the historical record was largely written (almost always by Europeans or Euro-North Americans), and much of the oral knowledge of these early ‘Métis’ communities was lost through assimilation and acculturation. The same phenomenon can be observed in other mixed-heritage peoples including the Kanakas, Mestizos, Freejacks, Melungeons, Creek Indians, and Choctaw Half breeds. Métis origins have finally become a full sub-discipline within Métis Studies.”⁵⁰⁸

Still, with so few written and oral resources it is difficult to analyze such fundamental issues as early “Métis” nationalism and group identity. A recent development in “Métis” and Aboriginal historiography in Canada is the study of the “other” “Métis” – “Métis” who lived outside of what was once Rupert’s Land. These new works challenge the conventional thinking about the “Métis” experience since they analyse the emergence of mixed heritage groups throughout North America. Historically, many early mixed heritage populations, particularly in the Great Lakes region, and what are now Québec and the Maritime Provinces, were assimilated into Indian, Acadian and French Canadian populations. As Olive Dickason argues, most of these “Métis” groups did not identify as being “Métis”, despite their mixed heritage.⁵⁰⁹

Préfontaine, Dorion, Young and Farrell Racette conclude in their paper the following:

Miscegenation, or interracial coupling, is a worldwide phenomenon and its very existence poses an interesting cultural dilemma. Why have some mixed-heritage populations developed a group consciousness, while others have not? How did such First Nations as the Mohawks incorporate large numbers of Euro-Americans into their nation, but still managed to preserve their Aboriginal identity? This is an interesting example because Mohawk nationalism is quite vocal despite the fact that technically all the members of that nation are of a

⁵⁰⁷ D. R. Préfontaine, et al., *Metis Identity*, 24-26.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 26.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 24-26.

mixed heritage. In all reality, choosing to be a Métis, a Mohawk or a Canadian or a member of any other group or nation, either exclusively or in conjunction with other groups and identities, means identifying yourself with others in a common cause or adventure. You and the people with whom you share an identity have decided to share a common past, both invented and real, even a founding myth, and a group mission, and a certain commonality, exclusivity and collective will as members of a distinct community. This is nationalism or group consciousness. Group consciousness and/or nationalism usually emerges when a particular cultural group perceives itself to be neglected or mistreated by a larger group in society.⁵¹⁰

8.5. Research Challenges

There are a number of research challenges when conducting historical research on topics such as the one covered in this report. Many of the records that are now historical artifacts were not concerned with the issues that are now trying to be understood.

Because Indians were sometimes given new French names by priests at the time of baptisms and marriages, etc., it became extremely difficult to note from some of the historical records the extent of mixed-marriages or the offspring from such marriages and relationships. It is possible that extensive genealogical research might be able to track some of these people and discover their names before they were changed in order to be able to reference it to their ancestry. Such detailed research was not possible within the scope of this project as potentially thousands of families would have had to be analyzed.

The first locally born person with shared cultural identity, such as having a European last name and speaking an Indian language, was not discovered during the course of this research. This was not recorded in early Census data, nor was this type of cultural sharing information found in the secondary or primary source documents. However, it could be possible that early settlers like Nicolas Denys and Jean Jacques Enaud may have been conversant in an Indian language as they both married Indian women. Denys may have been fluent in more than one language or dialect given that he wrote so extensively on the Indians and their culture in the late 1600s.

The Colonial and national Census data also proved challenging. While the Census material can be a wealth of information, it provides information only on the subjects and items that the various governmental officials considered important at the time. Even a cursory glance at the publication of the Census period for short period of time will show that the Census never recorded the same information for any length of time. For instance, in the period immediately following the settlement of the West, for example, the statistics related to agriculture and immigration seem to dominate; in the period following the Second World War which saw so much disruption in the Canadian family, the Census takers devoted considerable energy and time to recording all sorts of information about families and home-life.

In addition, due to the lack of available primary source documents relating to the history of mixed

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

ancestry people in northern New Brunswick, secondary sources were relied on. Many of these sources, both old and new, did not reference very well. Thus, it was often difficult or impossible to verify secondary sources by examining original primary sources.

8.6. Future Research Directions

Future research should focus on (1) mixed-ancestry history in other regions of Eastern Canada, (2) oral histories of the northeastern New Brunswick study region, (3) and indepth research in local genealogies in the study region.

Future study could investigate other regions within Eastern Canada, from which ancestors of residents in northeastern New Brunswick originated, including Temiscouta and the Gaspé regions in Quebec, and the Saint John River Valley in New Brunswick. For example, many mixed-ancestry people in Temiscouta, Quebec, originally came from New Brunswick. Future work could be done on the history of Temiscouta to see if the original settlers of Anderson Siding (Saint-Quentin) might have been of mixed-ancestry.

As well, the research suggests that the Gaspé might be a potential area of "Métissage" (racial mixing). There appears to have been some sort of connection between the "Normans et Métis" in Caraquet and those in the Paspébiac area in the Gaspé. The same might hold true for Matépédia in the Gaspé. There are also features on the landscape that are called "Métis" River in the Gaspé. Furthermore, near Campbellton, there is a "Métis", or Kempt Road, that leads to Quebec via the Matapédia and Métis Rivers.⁵¹¹ It might be useful to pursue further research into the history of this area in Quebec.

Further research might be undertaken on the mixed-ancestry history of the Saint John River Valley in New Brunswick. A 1778 map labels an island in the River as Isle de Métisse and may warrant further inquiry. The Saint John River Valley was one of the first areas settled in the province, and it was also home to the Maliseet Indians who had various campsites along the river. According to some historians and researchers (such as Olive Dickason), fishermen from St. Malo, intermarried and interbred with the Maliseet Indians. Oral history suggests that the Maliseets are entirely a mixed race. Future research could study their ancestry. At the very least, there has been documentation about mixed marriages in the Saint John River area.⁵¹²

Using oral histories was outside of the scope of the current project. It may have been valuable to pursue research focused on oral data, as it is an important source for studying and understanding the past. Moreover, Indian society was an oral society and so information, teachings and history were passed down from one generation and written records were not kept. As well, the Acadian people were for a time, largely an illiterate society. During and after the Expulsion, Acadians did not record their history, culture, language or social interactions through the written word. Investigating oral history would thus add to the understanding of mixed-ancestry history in New Brunswick by opening up remembrances preserved amongst present-day Indian and Acadian populations.

⁵¹¹ H-15 PANB, JLA 1842 APP, Moses Perley, "Extracts from Mr. Perley's first report respecting the Indians on the Saint John," *Reports on Indian Settlements*.

⁵¹² See Key Document A-1 *Micmac and Maliseet Vital Statistics*.

Another idea that might be pursued in future research on the mixed-ancestry communities of New Brunswick is the construction of New Brunswick cultural identities. For a considerable period, scholars and lay-persons alike considered identities to be static entities that always seemed to exist. Now, identities are increasingly regarded as organic and are at various times constructed, disbanded and changed. Thus, it might be informative to undertake further research into the question of the construction of identity and cultural tradition in New Brunswick and how this would apply to mixed-ancestry people.

For example, while the Maritime arrival of those now known as Acadians began 1604, the Acadian "sense of identity" and nationalism only emerged in the 20th century. For the Acadians, it is acknowledged that the small Acadian elite from at least the 1860s were very conscious of their Acadian heritage and introduced a series of measure from that time as part of a political struggle for their recognition. The Acadian nationalism movement began to take shape in the 1870s. This issue is developed by Sheila Andrew in her *Development of Elites in Acadian New Brunswick, 1861-1881*, and in several other publications.⁵¹³

As for the growing emergence of a sense of identity and community among Atlantic Canadian mixed-ancestry people, one can point to two examples: first, the establishment of mixed-ancestry organizations in the region; and two, the number of people who are self-identifying as "Métis" in the Canadian Census. In 1991, 175 identified themselves to Census enumerators in New Brunswick as "Métis"; that jumped was 975 in 1996, and 4,290 in 2001. As the recent Census Canada reports suggest, there is the growing emergence of a sense of identity and community among the "Métis" in New Brunswick.

Other areas for future research include looking at the 1760 documents in the Canadian Archives mentioned by Ganong. As well, traveling to the archives in Paris and London could uncover more details about the history of mixed-ancestry people in northeastern New Brunswick. There is a Census from 1760 located in the Paris Archives, which indicates a population of "Normans et métisses" in what would become northeastern New Brunswick. In addition, looking further into genealogies may help to uncover the percentage of mixed-ancestry people in the first generation of settlers in Caraquet and the percentage of mixed-ancestry people in the second generation.

8.7. Summary

In summary, the available primary and archival source material concerning the history of mixed-ancestry people in New Brunswick is limited. While it is evident that many mixed marriages took place, it is not possible at this time to conclude whether or not there were any site-specific communities of mixed-ancestry people who had unique cultural customs. The one community that sparked an interest was Caraquet with its peculiar group of "Normans et métisses," who obtained a

⁵¹³ Andrew's book was published by McGill University Press in 1996. Other publications include: George F.G. Stanley, "The Caraquet Riots of 1875," *Acadiensis* 2:1 (Autumn 1972): 21-38; Jean Daigle, ed., *The Acadians of the Maritimes: Thematic Studies* (Moncton: Centre d'études acadiennes, 1982); and E.R. Forbes and D.A. Muise, eds., *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 78, 104, 173.

land grant along with Acadians and French Canadians. However, not even this group of mixed Norman-Indian ancestry had a very distinct culture in comparison to their Acadian and Canadian neighbours. However, due to the lack of written material on these people, it is impossible to say for certain whether or not they had a distinctive community. More research is required. As well, due to the lack of written material it is suggested that oral history of the study area be explored in greater detail. Only then will the history of mixed-ancestry people in New Brunswick become clearer.

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Note on the Appendix of Key Documents

The appendix to this research report contains photocopies of Key Documents, which provide further details on the information presented in this report. See the appendix (which is a separate document that accompanies this report) for further explanation.

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